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ABSTRACT

A group of six feminists undertook this study because they felt it important that people learn about racial and sexual discrimination in textbooks used in Baltimore City and other U.S. schools. The task force chose five series of basal readers widely used in Baltimore. These series are used in most, if not all, Elementary Secondary Education Act Title I schools -- schools in which a majority of students are Third World. A predetermined selection process was used to chose a block of ten stories from each book in the study sample. The examination reveals that females and racial minorities are underrepresented in central roles. Where they do appear, their characterization reinforces traditional sexual and racial stereotypes. The readers fail in general to provide positive self-images for females and racial minorities, and they reflect and reinforce social injustices. Recommendations are made for ways to use the readers and for the development of teacher, parent, and publisher awareness of the problems of sexual and racial stereotyping. An afterword has been appended reviewing 1975 and 1976 readers. (Author/JM)

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SEXISM AND RACISM in POPULAR BASAL READERS 1964-1976

Based upon: a 1973 Report by The Baltimore Feminist Project

a 1975 Postscript by Mary Jane Lupton

an Afterword by the Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educ

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Abstract

An examination of a sample of selections from five series of readers widely in use in Baltimore City elementary schools reveals that females and racial minorities are underrepresented in central roles and that where they do appear their characterization reinforces traditional sexual and racial stereotypes. The readers fail in general to provide positive self-images for females and racial minorities, and they reflect and reinforce social injustices. Recommendations are made for ways to use the readers and for the development of teacher, parent and publisher awareness of the problems of sexual and racial stereotyping.

A Note From the Editors:

Why we uppercase B *in Black and lowercase* w *in white.*

1. The Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators believes that people must define themselves. The African American community has generally rejected the designation "Negro" and shown preference for substituting "Black" or "Afro American" when referring to *Americans* of African descent.

2. Americans of other descent, i.e., *I*talian Americans, *P*olish Americans, *I*rish Americans, are all capitalized when they are *specifically* identified by country of origin. Therefore, when Black means American of African descent, we use an uppercase B.

3. If we were to *generalize* about whites, lumping all of white Euro American descent together, we would lowercase white.

4. If we were to *generalize* about blacks, lumping Africans, African Americans, Papua-New Guineans, etc. together, we would lowercase black.

Racism & Sexism Resource Center for Educators:
Council on Interracial Books for Children and
Foundation for Change

FOREWORD
by the Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators

The messages conveyed to children in their very first school books leave an indelible imprint on their future values, attitudes and behaviors. The following Report by six Baltimore feminists digs deeply into the nature of those messages.

The Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators is publishing the Report because it is one of the most comprehensive and in-depth analyses of basal readers that has been produced. What especially distinguishes it is the combined study of both racism and sexism. Most other studies focus on only one of these concerns. Educators must be concerned with both issues, for to ignore either one is to perpetuate oppression in our society.

While all of the basal readers reviewed herein are still in widespread use, newer and revised materials are appearing regularly. An afterword has been appended to the Report reviewing 1975 and 1976 readers. One function of our Center is to develop criteria for identifying racial and sexual stereotypes in school materials. Our first published analysis of a reading program was of the Distar Reading Language Program. This analysis appeared in the *Bulletin* of Interracial Books for Children, Vol. 5, No. 4, 1974. The Center staff has been reviewing school materials for racial and sexual stereotyping and distortion. With a grant from the Carnegie Foundation, we are undertaking a review of all major elementary and high school social studies and reading books published in 1975 and thereafter, as a continuation of our commitment to promote positive, multicultural materials. The first volume offering such analysis and ratings will be published in late 1976.

The five series reviewed for the Baltimore study generally underrepresent minority groups; fail to deal honestly with socio-economic oppression; portray minorities more frequently in fantasy or history than in realistic contemporary settings; give inaccurate interpretations of the cultural achievements and heritage of minority groups; and perpetuate ethnocentric bias in

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favor of white culture, values and standards. Such biases alienate minority children from textbooks and education, discourage pride in their own heritage and culture, and conversely, encourage assimilation into the dominant culture.

The readers' deficiencies also have serious implications for white youth, who remain culturally deprived by the omission of minority heritage, values, contributions and achievements. They also distort white youngsters' self-perceptions and encourage a false sense of superiority over others. The distortions of reality extant in the readers cripple the ability of white children to function effectively in a multiracial society and to strive for a more just society. Thus, the analysis and conclusions are as important for schools with all-white constituencies as they are for schools which have minority students.

Sexual stereotyping is pervasive in all of the five series of basal readers. Males are greatly over-represented as central characters and females under-represented. Role models for females are limited for the most part to activities within the home. Males are consistently shown in varied, productive, and authoritative positions outside the home. They are resourceful, courageous, successful, capable, achieving individuals in their own right. Women, on the other hand, are passive, deriving their self-worth from self-sacrificing family roles. The contributions of women to our culture, heritage and economy are ignored or underrated. Such sex role socialization tends to cripple the self-worth and identity of females, impair their psychological health and stunt their economic achievement. The socialization process affects males by intensifying competitiveness and aggressiveness, and inhibiting their emotions and feelings for others. Thus our society's sex role socialization subverts the potential of all our children.

In addition to racism and sexism, other concerns raised in the Report deserve further discussion. The study notes that the readers projected a "uniformity of value system, morality and behavior models," a "unified cultural ethic . . . which directs children toward specifically prescribed behavior and common cultural interpretation of reality." The socialization that results can only perpetuate the social status quo.

It has previously been noted that an ethnocentric bias favoring white middle-class behavior, values and attitudes is predominant in the readers. Increasingly, parents and educa-

tors concerned about racial and class inequities have been re-evaluating the values that are encouraged within our schools. When schools promote competitiveness, individualism and materialism, they encourage a desire to excel *over* others rather than a desire to collaborate *with* them for common achievement. They promote respect for the value of property over the value of people.

In the readers examined, competitive behavior is favorably projected—especially for males. The readers do little to encourage sharing and working for the benefit of all. Indeed, this kind of behavior is downgraded. An aspect of this noted in the Report is the tendency to encourage control-oriented behavior—control exercised over others or power wielded over others becomes an end in itself and a sign of status. Again, while such behavior is most often identified with "male" concerns, it is projected as a positive value for all.

The study of "famous" or "ideal" people is another method of projecting values criticized by the Report. Who embodies the "ideal"? In the basal readers, it is almost always the white male. However, we suggest an additional reason for concern. Famous people are often those who have attained individual success or achievement. Their "Horatio Alger" success stories epitomize the white Protestant work ethic, "you can make what you want of yourself if you try hard enough" myth that avoids the class, sex and race inequities and the web of institutional roadblocks limiting people's achievements.

Strikingly absent from the basal readers "hall of fame" are women and men whose contributions to the liberation of *others* truly deserve recognition and emulation—people like Harriet Tubman, Frederick Douglass, Soujourner Truth, John Brown, Mother Jones, Malcolm X, etc. The goal should not be merely the inclusion of women and minorities in the list of famous people, but a redefinition of what achievements we value.

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The stories' use of magic or luck to solve individual cases of poverty deters recognition of the necessity for collective action to confront the institutionalized social and economic causes of poverty and oppression. The often disregarded or misrepresented history of labor struggles in our society is one example of such collective action, as important today as it was in the past. Apathetic and passive citizens are molded when students are taught the individualistic notion that only "great men" have been responsible for social change, or that magic or luck will solve their problems. Students need to be provided with the tools for understanding today's society and with the skills for appropriate action. By perpetuating these myths, basal readers are impeding rather than encouraging social change.

The issues raised in this Report should become basic considerations in the selection and purchase of educational materials in our schools. Our goal should be to expand the potential of all youth, rather than to distort their perceptions of themselves and of others, limit their educational achievement, and blunt their capacity to understand and act upon the critical issues of our society.

It is urgent that concerned parents, educators and students confront these problems. The limited progress that has been made in recent years toward creating multicultural texts is now in jeopardy. Across the country right-wing groups are pressuring school boards, publishers and politicians to retreat from change. Individuals and groups concerned about the lack of multicultural materials must not sit back and assume that progress will continue automatically. Nor can we merely maintain a defensive posture against the subversive attacks on multicultural materials. We must organize—focusing our struggle on school boards, publishers and politicians—to insist that our schools provide an education and materials which reflect the racial and ethnic diversity of our nation and which encourage those values and behaviors that will promote the development of a pluralistic society.

I. INTRODUCTION

A group of six feminists undertook this study because they felt it important that people learn about racial and sexual discrimination in textbooks used in Baltimore City and other U.S. schools.

Socialization

The term socialization is used to identify the process by which an infant slowly develops a set of attitudes and values, likes and dislikes, goals and purposes, patterns of response and concept of self. In more formal terms, socialization is that process whereby one internalizes the norms and values of a culture, so that a distinct *self* emerges. This image of the self is arrived at through a gradual, complicated process which continues throughout life. It is generally believed that the individual's perceptions of the judgments of others (society) and the reactions which s/he experiences to these judgments, form the basis of the development of self-image.[1]

The process of socialization, and consequently the formation of self-concept, takes place largely through the learning of a role, which for the individual is the set of behaviors "appropriate" to one's rank or position within a group. Role learning has three aspects: duties, status and temperament. One learns the duties connected with a role and claims its concomitant status. One also acquires the temperament—attitudes, feelings and expectations—appropriate to that role.

Universally used bases for role ascription are sex and age. There are no known societies that do not in some way predicate "appropriate" behavior based upon the sex and age of the individual. Other widely used determinants of "appropriate" behavior include race, nationality, social class and religion. In this study we are concerned with the implications for females, Blacks and other U.S. racial minorities of role learning through textbooks used in our school systems.

Blacks and Other Racial/Eth

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Blacks and Other Racial/Ethnic Minorities

A large body of material is available that points to racial stereotyping in textbooks as one factor which perpetuates negative self-image for Black and other racial/ethnic minorities. Evidence also indicates that the racial stereotyping and lack of adequate and factual representation of minority people perpetuates the distortion among non-minority youth of their perceptions of themselves and of others, as well as their understanding of the reality of racism in our society.

A basic finding of the 1966 Coleman Report is that for Black children negative self-image contributes to failure in school performance. This negative self-image is taught; it is not innate. According to Dr. Ruth Landes, Blacks and other minority groups are "taught to despise their physical or other differences from the dominant group."[2] In an essay in *Harvard Educational Review*, Charles Valentine insists that "mainstream Euro-American culture includes concepts, values and judgments which categorize Blacks as worthy only of fear, hatred, or contempt because of their supposedly innate characteristics."[3]

The mainstream, or dominant culture, imposes its system of values on Blacks, Native Americans, Spanish Americans and other minority groups through a variety of sources—television, advertising, movies, books, etc. Another source of transmitting cultural values is in the school, where the curriculum is largely composed of basal readers, social studies, history texts and other educational materials. Both the dominance of white American values and the neglect of minority contributions have been often noted in elementary textbooks. The existence of racism in text and trade books has been documented by Green, Larrick, Banks and others (see Bibliography). Researchers have also shown that textbooks profoundly affect the racial concepts of children (see Trager and Yarrow, 1952; *Intergroup Relations in Teaching Materials*, 1949; Marcus, 1961; Landes, 1965; Deutsch, 1969).

The conscious and unconscious racial attitudes in textbooks and in other areas of the school program have caused considerable damage to *all* children. Samuel Yette, Charles Silberman, Kenneth Clark, Jim Haskins and others emphasize the ways in which Black children are injured by racial bias. In 1970 Dr. David Sanchez addressed the United States Senate on behalf of Spanish American students: "The injuries of the Latin American child have been inflicted by those who have claimed

to teach and motivate him, who have, in reality, alienated him and destroyed his identity through the subtle rejection of his language, which nobody speaks, his culture, which nobody understands, and ultimately him, whom nobody values."[4] Dr. Landes discusses the Latin American child's alienation from the standard elementary school textbooks, where the names, skin colors, foods, clothing, and family structures fail to reflect the cultural values of Mexican, Black, Native American and other California minority groups included in her study.[5]

James Banks stresses that racial attitudes also damage white children: "The exclusive presentation of white achievements in textbooks perpetuates an ethnocentric chauvinism among white youngsters and develops in them a false and tenuous sense of racial superiority."[6] The effects of white chauvinist acculturation are evident in white children by the age of four and are reenforced and expanded once the child enters the educational system. The general curricula of most white elementary, secondary and higher educational institutions can be classified as "White Studies" and have left most whites culturally deprived about the history, culture and experiences of minority people nationally and majority people internationally, as well as denied whites a true knowledge of Euro-American history. This distortion affects not only the ability of white people to interact honestly and humanely with minority people, but cripples their ability to understand and act to change the dangerous and oppressive racial and economic structures that threaten the well-being of all people.

Former U.S. Commissioner of Education, Francis Keppel, claims that in 1963 there was a "revolution in the textbook industry" to meet the needs of minority groups. He applauds the new textbooks in general for giving an "accurate interpretation" of the problem of minority groups in our society.[7] Keppel is overly optimistic. True, the racially diverse textbooks created in the 1963 Detroit experiment helped to improve the reading level of many Black students.[8] Nevertheless, the Detroit primers still leave much to be desired, as do most of the new "integrated" primers. According to Charles Silberman, the Detroit primers simply show "a well-scrubbed Negro family in the same sort of antiseptic suburban environment that Dick, Jane and Sally play in. . . ."[9] James Banks, in his important essay on "The Need for Positive Racial Attitudes in Textbooks," states clearly the direction that textbooks must take if they are to deal adequately with the racial complexities of our society:

Coloring white characters brown, or
class image of the Negro, will not
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Females

Sex role socialization[11] has been
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Increasingly, scientific studies
which both women and men have
conditioning.

Coloring white characters brown, or perpetuating a sterile middle class image of the Negro, will not meet the criteria of objective treatment of the Negro because such images are inconsistent with reality. The American child should be exposed to *all* types and classes of Negroes in American life, with the illustrations depicting the diversity of Negroid racial traits. Overemphasis on one type or the creation of an ideal type will not suffice.[10]

Females

Sex role socialization[11] has been widely studied because it begins very early and because its effects are readily observable. Differential treatment of females and males usually starts at birth. Even before speech is established, female and male children are handled and touched, tickled and spoken to in terms of their sexual identity.[12] Even as early as six months, girl babies are protected more than boy babies.[13] By the time a language is established (about 18 months) the child's idea of self is intricately involved with sexual identity.[14] Before kindergarten age, children can define the primary female and male roles[15] and express sex role preferences.[16] Textbooks become an important part of the socialization process when a child reaches school age. They reinforce role expectations and cultural values. Margaret Mead has commented that "a culture has to get its values across to its children in such simple terms that even a behavioral scientist can understand them."[17]

Children learn that the father works outside of the home, that he is the provider and that the mother works inside the home and takes care of them. Children also learn what temperamental attitudes are appropriate for their particular sex. Johan Cullberg, among others, has pointed out:

> The stereotyped sex roles in our Western culture mean . . . that masculinity implies activity, strength, emotional restraint and dominance. Feminity is defined as passivity, weakness . . . submission.[18]

It is self evident that the development of such temperamental traits as passivity, weakness, and submission is crippling to a woman's ability to survive psychologically or economically as an independent person.

Increasingly, scientific studies are documenting ways in which both women and men have been harmed by sex role conditioning.

Sex Roles and Impairment of Intellectual Achievement in Females

Matina Horner offers an explanation of a well-known pattern of intellectual development in females:

> The girl child matures early, levels off fast, and then slowly retrogresses. Thousands of females who are . . . brilliant in grade school become merely bright in high school, simply very good in college, and finally, almost mediocre in graduate school.

According to Horner the bright female gets a contradictory message from society: if she is too smart, too independent, and above all, too serious about her work, she is unfeminine and will therefore never get married. The result of the contradictory message is strong anxiety and, consequently, diminished ability to achieve.[19]

Lenore Weitzman observes that "training for a dependent passive role may inhibit a girl's chances for intellectual or creative success. It is likely that the excessive dependency encouraged in girls contributes to the decline in their achievement which becomes apparent as they grow older." She cites Maccoby's finding that "for both sexes, there is a tendency for dependent children to perform poorly on a variety of intellectual tasks, and for independent children to excel."[20]

Phyllis Chesler finds social expectations regarding sex roles to be at the root of much of what we call "neurotic" and "psychotic" behavior.[21]

Sex Roles and Harm to Mothers and Children

Weitzman cites Alice Rossi's observation:

> If a woman's adult efforts are concentrated exclusively on her children, she is likely more to stifle than broaden her children's perspective and preparation for adult life . . . In myriad ways the mother binds the child to her, dampening his initiative, resenting his growing independence in adolescence, creating a subtle dependence which makes it difficult for the child to achieve full adult stature.

Weitzman continues:

> In addition to having a negative effect on children, this preoccupation with motherhood may also be harmful to the mother herself. Paul Bart has reported extreme depression among middle-aged women who have been over involved with and have over identified with their children.[22]

Sex Roles and Harm to Ma Whole

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Stereotyping in Textbooks

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Sex Roles and Harm to Males and to Society as a Whole

Hero behavior constitutes the core of male role conditioning. A boy must always be a hero. If he is unable to be one, he must pretend. Even if he feels on the defensive, he must act aggressively.

A boy who cries or expresses fear after the first few years of life is unacceptable. He is not behaving like a "little man." Open expression of other emotions is also discouraged. A boy must learn to be "in control" of himself. Such constraints are damaging to the development of a male child's capacity to express emotions or even to experience them consciously. He becomes unable to recognize emotion in himself or others. This conditioning discourages the development of a capacity for responding sympathetically to another person's feelings.

On the other hand, boys are encouraged to develop their capacity for objective observation of the world around them (a capacity all human beings have). In this way, they learn to have some control over that world. Because they are free to express that capacity on a large scale, their achievements have been very great in areas like science. However, achievements in human relationships have been greatly curtailed by this control-oriented way of relating to the world.

Control-oriented behavior is very damaging in human relationships. If we are interested in controlling other persons we will look at people to see if they are weaker or stronger than we are. We will not be concerned with understanding another's fears or comforting another's pain. We will not even be able to recognize our own fears and pain. We will only be concerned with winning, or appearing to win.

Human beings have been driven to try to control one another in every kind of human relationship from interpersonal ones to international ones. Now it is vital that we learn to recognize and empathize with another person's needs and pain. We must learn to let our own feelings show. We must not be afraid of "losing face" or not appearing to be heros. Rather we must fear failing to understand one another, failing to empathize with one another.

Stereotyping in Textbooks

Numerous studies have evaluated the role of readers and textbooks in training boys and girls to accept predetermined

patterns of behavior. Among the most important are the Weitzman study (1971) referred to above, Marjorie U'Ren's essay on "The Image of Women in Textbooks" (1971), *Dick and Jane as Victims* (1972) and the Scott, Foresman *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks* (see Bibliography for additional studies). Generally, those studies conclude that girls and women are underrepresented in textbooks, that they are portrayed in stereotyped, passive situations and that they present severely limited role models for young readers.

This particular study was undertaken because of our immediate concern about the damaging effects of stereotyping on Baltimore children. We hope that the following pages will provide an honest analysis, will encourage further investigation of sexism and racism in textbooks and will help to change a widespread problem that affects all of us.

II. METHODOLOGY– and List of All Stories Analyzed

Our task force chose five series of basal readers widely used in our own city, Baltimore, Maryland. These series are used in most, if not all, ESEA Title I schools—schools in which a majority of students are Third World.

We used a predetermined selection process to choose a block of ten stories from each book in the study sample. There is slight variation in methodology used in story selection, which is explained in the individual series analyses.

The following is a listing of all stories analyzed in this report.

GINN AND COMPANY 1964 revised editions

My Little Red Story Book

Tom
Susan
Betty
Flip
Mother
The Airplane
Pony
The Apple
Susan and the Toys
Tom and the Toys
The Toys

My Little Blue Story Book

Airplanes
Come and See
Susan and Father
Come and Play
Here is Patsy
Pony Wants Something
Here We Go
Come and Look
Cakes and Cakes
The Play Dinner
Susan Wants to Play
The Play House
We Can Play Here
The Funny House

On Cherry Street

We Go to School
Here We Go
The Birthday Chair
The New School Bag
Betty and Nan
The Big Button
The New Book
The Wonderful School Bus

Mr. Mac's Store
The Bread Wagon
The Lost Pocket
Apples and Eggs
Where is Bunny?
Ben and the Truck

Story Time
Little Rooster and Little Hen
The Story of Little Lamb
One Little Feather
The Pancake Man
The Monkeys' House
Funny Bunny Rabbit

Happy Days at the Farm
Tom and the Pony at the Farm
Fish for Dinner
Flip at the Brook
The Big Noise
A Funny Party
The New Fence

Around the Corner

We Live in a City
Here Comes the Parade!
Boxes and Boxes
At the Big Store
Chris
A Birthday Surprise

Circus Stories
Casey Joins the Circus
Mary Ann's Ticket
Here Comes the Clowns
The Little Old Woman and the Baby Elephant

Out of Doors
Bushy Tail
Across the River
Mother Blacktail and her Twins
Little Pond in the Big Woods
Johnny and Teeny

Mr. Mac's Store
The Bread Wagon
The Lost Pocket
Apples and Eggs
Where is Bunny?
Ben and the Truck

Story Time
Little Rooster and Little Hen
The Story of Little Lamb
One Little Feather
The Pancake Man
The Monkeys' House
Funny Bunny Rabbit

Happy Days at the Farm
Tom and the Pony at the Farm
Fish for Dinner
Flip at the Brook
The Big Noise
A Funny Party
The New Fence

Around the Corner

We Live in a City
Here Comes the Parade!
Boxes and Boxes
At the Big Store
Chris
A Birthday Surprise

Circus Stories
Casey Joins the Circus
Mary Ann's Ticket
Here Comes the Clowns
The Little Old Woman and the Baby Elephant

Out of Doors
Bushy Tail
Across the River
Mother Blacktail and her Twins
Little Pond in the Big Woods
Johnny and Teeny

Fun At Home
The Old Sled
Down Cherry Street
A Book for Father
Mr. Snowman
Scat! Scat! Little Cat!

On Cherry Street
A Funny Surprise
The Little Monkey
Susan and the Telephone
The Street Sprinkler
At the Store
Better Than a Letter

Just for Fun
Mr. Rabbit and the Two Ducks
Gardens by the Brook
The Picnic Basket
Jingle Learns to Dance
Up the Hill
Ear Muffs for All
Little Yellow Chick
Baby Bear

Once Upon a Time
The Boy and the Door
Jack and the Beanstalk
Mr. Rabbit, Rain-Maker
Tom Thumb

Stories for Fun
The Seven Little Piffles
The Wonderful Washing Machine
Timothy, the Little Bear
Mrs. Goose and the Strange People

In City and Country
The Best Surprise
The Hollyberrys at the Shore
The Little Woman Wanted Noise
David's Silver Dollar

All Around the City
- Ben and the Ball Game
- Two Horses
- Red Roofs, Green Roofs
- Oscar and the Bus Driver
- The Little Farm in the Big City

Up and Away
- Airplane Andy
- The Flying Fireman
- Peter and the Pilot
- Big Fellow and the Airfield
- Hoppy, the Helicopter

GINN AND COMPANY Reading 360 Series (1969)

A Duck Is a Duck (level 3)

- The Park
- What Is It?
- We Read Books

With Skies and Wings (level 9)

Our Great Bright Land
- Shoeshine Boy
- Mississippi Possum
- From the Twenty-Eighth Floor
- Benny's Flag

A Feast of Fun
- Grandpa's Farm
- The Magic Pencil
- An Ostrich Named Charlie
- What's for Lunch, Charley?

In Your Own Backyard
- The Tall Grass Zoo
- A Safe Place
- The Restless Kangaroo
- A Joey Grows Up
- Benjy's Bird
- Amigo

Across the Seas
- Ram's Prize
- Danger at High Tide
- Mr. Moonlight and Omar

Spaceships and Explorers
- Space Monkey
- America's First Astronauts
- Spacecraft at Work
- The Earth Is Your Spaceship

Wise or Foolish?
- The Bee Tree
- The Miller, the Boy, and the Donkey
- The Old Man and His Grandson
- Play—The Three Pigs
- The Mouse and the Magician
- Cap o' Rushes
- The Travelers and the Bear
- The Gold Dust

MACMILLAN PUBLISHING
Street Series, 1971 revised edi

In the City (pre-primer)

Around the City (primer)
- All Around the City
- A Hot Day
- Who Likes Ice Cream?
- Come and Jump
- Will Ben Get a Ride?
- After School
- Fire Drill
- The Day It Rained
- The Big Box
- Scat, Cat
- 1, 2, 3 Go
- The New Lunch Boxes
- And He Did!
- Lunch on a Boat
- Jerry and the Girls
- City Houses
- The New Girl
- The Big Snow
- Pete Makes a Friend
- City Policemen
- 1 Potato, 2 Potatoes
- The Tugboat

Round the Corner (first 10 stories)
- Can Your Brother Talk Yet?
- It Looked Like a Pouch
- King of the Cats
- The Stars and Stripes
- My First Whale
- The Long Wait
- The Haunted House
- Touch War
- The Sooner Hound
- Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers

MACMILLAN PUBLISHING COMPANY—The Bank Street Series, 1971 revised editions

In the City (pre-primer)

Around the City (primer)
- All Around the City
- A Hot Day
- Who Likes Ice Cream?
- Come and Jump
- Will Ben Get a Ride?
- After School
- Fire Drill
- The Day It Rained
- The Big Box
- Scat, Cat
- 1, 2, 3 Go
- The New Lunch Boxes
- And He Did!
- Lunch on a Boat
- Jerry and the Girls
- City Houses
- The New Girl
- The Big Snow
- Pete Makes a Friend
- City Policemen
- 1 Potato, 2 Potatoes
- The Tugboat

Round the Corner (first 10 stories)
- Can Your Brother Talk Yet?
- It Looked Like a Pouch
- King of the Cats
- The Stars and Stripes
- My First Whale
- The Long Wait
- The Haunted House
- Touch War
- The Sooner Hound
- Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers

My City (second 10 stories)
- There Was a New Boy
- Some Mother!
- Always Arthur
- Room for a Pet
- Jack and the Beanstalk
- Smarty Arty Finds Out
- City Drivers
- A Horse Came Down My Street Today
- The Smallest Boy
- First Snow in Ten Years

City Sidewalks (last 10 stories)
- The Monster
- First Painting
- Peaches for the Princess
- Thank You, Thank You, Carlos
- The Sleeping Beauty
- Word Magic
- The Pipes Are Leaking
- The First Bread
- The Chestnuts
- The Old Oak Tree

Uptown, Downtown (first 10 stories)
- Too Little
- The Running Dog
- No One Is Here But Me
- The Donkey and the Dog
- New Boy in the Class
- What Do You Think?
- City Water
- Mr. Charles
- Someone Silly
- Red, the Police Horse

SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES—Comprehensive or Basal Reading Program, 1971 revised editions

Level G. Tony's Adventure (first 10 stories)
- Uncle Walter's Present
- Helga's Good Bad Deed
- Yours Alone
- Tony's Adventure
- Someone to Listen
- An Understanding Ear
- The Peacock, the Sparrow, and the Pigeon
- Teeny Tiny Swishy Witch
- Pixie and the Wise Owl
- Bob and the Blue Crayon

Level H. The Careless Astronaut (second 10 stories)
- The Middle Prince of Spotsylvania
- Friendly Monsters
- Daredevils of Niagra
- Jimmy's New Hobby
- Gardy Loo
- The Order of the Crow
- The Careless Astronaut
- Lady of Liberty
- Living Light
- One Last Setting Hen for Miss Uppabove's Class

Level I. Captain Bunker's Ghost (last 10 stories)
- The Wind Birds
- Toma
- The Toy That Went to Work
- It's Greek to Me
- Simon the Silent
- Growing Fairy Tales
- Lowdown
- The Young Fisherman
- Mr. Nick's Ant Farms
- The Tale of a Tumbleweed

Level J. The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer (first 10 stories)
- The Hermit of Moonstone Mountain
- The Gypsy Life
- The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer
- A Visit with an Artist
- Unwelcome Passenger
- More Important than Gold Medals
- Herodotus and the United States Post Office
- They Sang as They Worked
- The Magic Typewriter
- Good Luck

Level K. The Big Abzul-Raider Game (second 10 stories)
- Pike Boy
- The Field
- Codes and Ciphers
- The Phoenix
- The Moonstruck Professor
- Rover and the Rogue
- The City: Designed for Living?
- The Prince, Two Mice, and Some Kitchen-Maids
- The Origins of Scotland Yard
- The Big Abzul-Raider Game

Level L. Station Four (last 10 stories)
- There Ought To Be a Law!
- Settling Arguments: Then and Now
- Dog Bites Boy
- The Dog that Bit People
- Beyond Gold
- Bibliomania
- Swords into Plowshares?
- The Case of the Tilted Question Mark
- The Salisbury Clock
- Melisande, or Long and Short Division

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND C
Highway Series 1965 through 1

Book I, Part 1 Ready to Roll, 1967 E (first 10 stories)
- Bookish
- A Joke
- The Little Old Woman and How She Kept Her Geese Warm
- How to Make a Sock Puppet
- The Old Women and the Pig
- I Had a Little Pig
- Coats for Katie and Carmen
- Storm
- Rain
- An Umbrella Joke

Book II, Part 1, More Power, 1968 (second 10 stories) E
- Jimmy's Pocket Aunt
- Candy for Dinner
- Peanut Butter Creams
- Sylvester
- Oh, Susanna!
- The Seven Little Pifflesniffs
- Sneezing
- Billy's Find
- My Puppy
- Eating Peanuts with Your Foot

Book III, Part 1, Splendid Journey, 1968 (stories 21 to end of book)
- Hennessey E
- The Surprise
- On Top of Spaghetti
- Early Men
- The First Dishes
- Stone Sculpture
- Stone Soup

SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY—The Open Highway Series 1965 through 1968

Book I, Part 1 Ready to Roll, 1967 (first 10 stories)
- Bookish
- A Joke
- The Little Old Woman and How She Kept Her Geese Warm
- How to Make a Sock Puppet
- The Old Women and the Pig
- I Had a Little Pig
- Coats for Katie and Carmen
- Storm
- Rain
- An Umbrella Joke

Book II, Part 1, More Power, 1968 (second 10 stories)
- Jimmy's Pocket Aunt
- Candy for Dinner
- Peanut Butter Creams
- Sylvester
- Oh, Susanna!
- The Seven Little Pifflesniffs
- Sneezing
- Billy's Find
- My Puppy
- Eating Peanuts with Your Foot

Book III, Part 1, Splendid Journey, 1968 (stories 21 to end of book)
- Hennessey
- The Surprise
- On Top of Spaghetti
- Early Men
- The First Dishes
- Stone Sculpture
- Stone Soup

Book IV, 1965 (first 10 stories)
- Shoeshine Boy
- Games to Play Outside in the City
- A Game to Play Inside in the City or Anywhere Else
- The Story of Mulberry Bend
- Ideal American
- Wang's Fourth
- Really?
- A Dish You Can Eat
- Swimming Hole
- A True Tale

Book V, 1966 (second 10 stories)
- Weather or Not!
- Pirates of Yesterday
- The Pirate Don Durk of Dowdee
- Pirates Take Over Tampa
- Ernestine and Substance X
- What's New?
- Garrett Morgan, Man of Ideas
- Noodles, Nitwits, and Numbskulls
- Ookie, the Walrus
- Pete at the Zoo

Book VI, 1966 (third 10 stories)
- The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock
- How Good a Witness Would You Be?
- The Mad Dog
- Louis Pasteur
- Cars of Yesterday
- Heroic Years of the Automobile
- America's First 'Fill 'Er Up!' Stations
- Bluey
- Locating Information
- Animals of Australia

III. GINN AND COMPANY– 1964 Revised Edition Readers and the Reading 360 Series, 1969, by Sarah Begus

For this study the sample of textbooks published by Ginn and Company included the following readers:

My Little Red Story Book (Rev. ed. 1964)
My Little Blue Story Book (Rev. ed. 1964)
Around the Corner (Rev. ed. 1964)
On Cherry Street (Rev. ed. 1964)
A Duck Is a Duck (Reading 360 Series, 1969)
With Skies and Wings (Reading 360 Series, 1969)

These six books can be divided into two categories with two sub-groups in each category. *My Little Red Story Book*, *My Little Blue Story Book* and *A Duck Is a Duck* constitute the first category, pre-primers; these contain books published in 1964, now considered outdated, and more recently published readers which purport to be more accurate reflections of current reader theory and social reality. The second category is made up of readers of a higher reading skill level and includes the older titles *Around the Corner*, *On Cherry Street*, and the more recently published *With Skies and Wings*. The two categories and sub-groups differ in number of stories, type and diversity of characters, number of illustrations and general format. Each group must be analyzed separately.

All the stories in the six readers of our sample were read and analyzed for this study. Three of the books are pre-primers with short, unified chapters. Because distinctions and comparisons of the various books within the Ginn sample were necessary for any analysis of elements of sexism and racism, all chapters in each book were read.

The pre-primers are introductory readers and contain few words and many illustrations. The action of the stories is portrayed almost exclusively with pictures. Each pre-primer is essentially one story with several interrelated sub-plots.

A few observations about these p
main characters of the stories rema
are usually individually introduce
The principal character(s) of the th
study are members of the same fam
teachers. All families are composed
brother(s), dog and cat. The charac
display little individual personaliti
the stories is limited in scope, a grea
are transmitted to young readers
readers.

Very definitely, the pre-primers b
behavior, role-identification and s
that they begin to teach words an

The higher level readers are lo
character and action. Their increas
setting allows for a more direct tra
process which they reflect. Through
action, these readers portray a con
encourage certain behavior pattern

Both the pre-primers and the hi
further classified according to dat
published in 1964 vary in conte
Reading 360 Series books publi
published Ginn books contain
characters, whereas the more recent
characters of various races and
attempt to reflect the current socia
to allow children of diverse racial
identify with the characters of th
present an unreal world of ab
homogeneity. All the characters are
social units: the two-parent, rural
class, nuclear family. This stereoty
socio-economic status of the majori
these books. The more recent Gin
families in urban settings, and hi
Series have characters of many ra
example, of the 28 stories containe
(Reading 360 Series), four have
characters, one is about an Inuit
Indian family from New Delhi, and
Spanish American.

A few observations about these pre-primers are in order. The main characters of the stories remain constant throughout and are usually individually introduced in the opening chapters. The principal character(s) of the three Ginn pre-primers in this study are members of the same family, neighborhood friends or teachers. All families are composed of mother, father, sister(s), brother(s), dog and cat. The characters are loosely defined and display little individual personalities. Although the action of the stories is limited in scope, a great many ideas and messages are transmitted to young readers through the pages of these readers.

Very definitely, the pre-primers begin to teach children about behavior, role-identification and self-image at the same time that they begin to teach words and reading skills.

The higher level readers are longer and more complex in character and action. Their increased range of vocabulary and setting allows for a more direct transmittal of the socialization process which they reflect. Through character development and action, these readers portray a concept of right and wrong and encourage certain behavior patterns.

Both the pre-primers and the higher level readers may be further classified according to date of publication. The books published in 1964 vary in content and style from the two Reading 360 Series books published in 1969. The earlier published Ginn books contain only white, Anglo Saxon characters, whereas the more recently published readers include characters of various races and ethnic groups. This is an attempt to reflect the current social reality of this country and to allow children of diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds to identify with the characters of the readers. The 1964 readers present an unreal world of absolute social and cultural homogeneity. All the characters are white members of identical social units: the two-parent, rural or suburban, upper-middle class, nuclear family. This stereotype in no way fits the actual socio-economic status of the majority of the children who read these books. The more recent Ginn pre-primers include Black families in urban settings, and higher level books in the 360 Series have characters of many racial and ethnic groups. For example, of the 28 stories contained in *With Skies and Wings* (Reading 360 Series), four have Black main and minor characters, one is about an Inuit Eskimo boy, one features an Indian family from New Delhi, and one is about a family that is Spanish American.

The newer readers attempt to correct some of the shortcomings of the older books. The bright colors and greater diversity of illustrations are an attempt to alleviate the drabness and dullness of older readers. For example, *With Skies and Wings* (1969) contains many more adventure stories of diverse action and setting than *Around the Corner* (1964). These changes have undoubtedly been due in part to the realization by educators that there is a relationship between insipid, boring readers and lack of motivation and poor reading skills in school children. The attempt to improve the lifeless, one-dimensional format and content of readers, such as *On Cherry Street* and *Around the Corner*, has resulted in the following measures: the inclusion—albeit on a superficial, token level—of Black and other racial/ethnic minorities; a greater emphasis on urban settings; more stories set in foreign lands; the presentation of fantasy and folk tales of varying cultures; and the portrayal of some diversity of economic situations.

Unfortunately, this attempt at racial realism and balance is undercut by the presence of racial stereotypes and subtle racist attitudes. For example, in the story "Amigo" (*With Skies and Wings*), the father is depicted as a stereotyped guitar-playing Chicano, down on his luck. In "Benny's Flag" (*With Skies and Wings*), any positive image of Benny's identity is negated by the subtly racist description of his physical appearance: "He had straight black hair and bright black eyes, but best of all, he had the whitest, white teeth. . ." Although the portrayal of Blacks and other minorities in lower socio-economic situations would seem to be reflective of reality, this is undercut by the failure to include a poor white family in the reader. The absence of socio-economically diverse white characters serves to reinforce the racist societal opinion that Blacks and other minorities are confined to the lower socio-economic situations because of inherent inferiority.

Underlying the superficial socio-economic diversity—which distinguishes the newer Ginn readers from the older ones and is common to the pre-primers as well as to the more advanced readers—is a uniformity of value system, morality and behavior models. This uniformity characterizes most of the readers of this study and perhaps even the entire body of reading skills material. Through these readers, a unified cultural ethic is taught which directs children toward specifically prescribed behavior and a common cultural interpretation of reality. What are some of these characteristic elements?

One element is the failure to
children or adults, as full human
well as intellects, experiencing
situations. In the pre-primers, th
facing trite situations, displaying
model children. The mood is bliss
as didactic behavior models in
play. The illustrations portray cl
together with stereotyped, smili
Pollyanna world. In the more
happiness abounds or, if diffic
predictable outcome is achieved
behavior by individuals, such as
machismo. A state of righteous s
bestowed on the characters who ha
way. "What a proud and happy b
and Wings) "Selim felt very happ
his father would never have to wor
and Wings)

A more striking element is com
the pre-primers, the more advanc
out-dated, and the newest most "s
element is present blatantly an
Consciously or unconsciously tra
powerful message which serves to
mold her/his self-image, teach
consistency and certainty than any
readers. This factor does in fact
reality; it does in fact reflect
conditions. This element is the
pervades reading materials in gen
this study in particular.

Sexism may be defined as the v
according to sex and the correspo
status and fixed roles, the negation
human rights to those people clas

> The practice of separating all peopl
> molds on the basis of sex alone is t
> life. Those who do not fit are either
> We stretch our sons to fill the id
> fragment our daughters' personalitie
> female role. Both processes do viol
> damaged person depletes the hum
> society.[23]

One element is the failure to present characters, whether children or adults, as fu'l human beings with real emotions as well as intellects, experiencing real, identifiable conflict situations. In the pre-primers, the characters are doll figures facing trite situations, displaying no feelings and behaving as model children. The mood is blissful, and the characters serve as didactic behavior models in a slightly up-dated morality play. The illustrations portray clean, smiling children living together with stereotyped, smiling, solicitous parents in a Pollyanna world. In the more advanced readers, either happiness abounds or, if difficulties or conflicts occur, a predictable outcome is achieved through specific prescribed behavior by individuals, such as hard work, perseverance or *machismo*. A state of righteous self-satisfaction is the reward bestowed on the characters who have solved the conflicts in this way. "What a proud and happy boy Benny was." (*With Skies and Wings*) "Selim felt very happy, too, for he knew that now his father would never have to work so hard again." (*With Skies and Wings*)

A more striking element is common to all the Ginn readers: the pre-primers, the more advanced readers, the oldest, most out-dated, and the newest most "socially relevant" books. This element is present blatantly and subtly in myriad forms. Consciously or unconsciously transmitted to the child, it is a powerful message which serves to condition a child's behavior, mold her/his self-image, teach a value system with more consistency and certainty than any other element present in the readers. This factor does in fact mirror an exterior societal reality; it does in fact reflect existing social values and conditions. This element is the pernicious sexism which pervades reading materials in general and the Ginn readers of this study in particular.

Sexism may be defined as the value classification of people according to sex and the corresponding assignment of inferior status and fixed roles, the negation of selfhood and the denial of human rights to those people classified female.

> The practice of separating all people into two arbitrarily defined molds on the basis of sex alone is the Procrustean bed of modern life. Those who do not fit are either stretched out or chopped up. We stretch our sons to fill the ideal dominant male role and fragment our daughters' personalities to make them fit the servile female role. Both processes do violence to the individual. Each damaged person depletes the human resources of the whole society.[23]

Sexism has various forms and aspects, many of which are present in children's readers. The sexism in the Ginn readers includes: reinforcement of inferior self-image in girls through negative characterization of women as a group; sex-role stereotyping of adult occupations and behavior; behavior conditioning on the basis of sex; ascription of sex-stereotyped attributes and attitudes; underrepresentation of women as a group; ego-reinforcement through positive definition of character (boy) built on ego-destruction through negative self-sacrifice and self-definition (girl); behavior stereotyping (girls, passive—boys, active); and definition of self solely on the basis of physical attributes.

The first pages of the Ginn pre-primers set the stage for what is a continuous development of the themes of sexism as mentioned above. It is true, however, that on the lower reading levels—as is true in the earlier stages of a young girl's life—the elements of sexism are less blatantly pervasive. But the suggestions and indications of what's to come are already present at the earliest stages, both in the readers and in real life. Specifically, in the pre-primers, although girl main characters are introduced with similar frequency and the language of the limited vocabulary is relatively harmless, the illustrations and story lines begin to designate behavior on the basis of sex. In *My Little Red Story Book*, the boy character is introduced first, shown in a simple but active position, riding a wagon. The first story action centers around Tom going to a filling station and helping an attendant repair his wagon. The female main character, Betty, accompanies Tom and watches passively. On the very first pages, the archetypal behavior pattern for the entire reading series is established: boys engage in active pursuits and adventures, girls stand by and watch.

This pattern, established in the pre-primers, is continuous throughout the Ginn readers analyzed for this study. The action and adventure belong to the boys. In most cases, the adventure stories have exclusively male characters. In *Around the Corner*, the five stories contained in the unit "Up and Away" have all male characters who learn to fly airplanes, have adventures on airplanes and even personify airplanes. A child reading these stories might well believe that girls never fly nor ride in airplanes. In the reader *On Cherry Street*, an action that comprises several chapters is exclusively male. Tom and his father work together repairing an old sled, take it to a hill where Tom competes in a race with children having newer sleds; and, naturally, he wins. Nowhere does a girl sled or even show an interest in sledding. Are we to a
disinterested in outside winter activi
in sled races?

And so it is in every reader studie
With Skies and Wings contains a un
Explorers." It tells of astronauts and
expect: all male. It is, of course, true
are no women astronauts; at least
mentioned Russian female astronau

No reader in this sample include
girls' or women's adventures. There
stories that have girls as main ch
stories, however, differ from boy st
ways. To illustrate, the following
analyzed: "From the Twenty-eighth
Wings; "Danger at High Tide," also
and "The Wonderful Washing Ma
Ticket," both in *Around the Corner*

The story "From the Twenty-ei
"adventure" of a girl, Linda, who, wh
out the window and sees a car witho
inside begin to roll down a hill. Her
up the telephone, calling the police w
pinpoint the location of the car, wh
the car before the baby is harmed
offset by the adults who engage in
directed throughout by adults, and
to use initiative or bravery. The entir
a characteristic that is stereotypical

"Danger at High Tide" contains a
adventurous and does take place ou
note, however, that the action situa
who becomes stranded by high tide
rescued by her grandfather and me
not the heroic situation of most boy
depicted as foolish and displaying p
rescued from her predicament. She
no initiative. This situation stand
adventures such as the story, "Mr.
the same book, where a boy uses im
to alleviate the work burdens of his
with her feeling cold, tired and frigh
with him being happy, proud and s

interest in sledding. Are we to assume that little girls are disinterested in outside winter activities or that they never join in sled races?

And so it is in every reader studied: the boys own the action. *With Skies and Wings* contains a unit entitled "Spaceships and Explorers." It tells of astronauts and spaceprobes. As one might expect: all male. It is, of course, true that in this country, there are no women astronauts; at least these stories might have mentioned Russian female astronauts.

No reader in this sample includes a unit devoted entirely to girls' or women's adventures. There are a few scattered action stories that have girls as main characters. These girl action stories, however, differ from boy stories in several significant ways. To illustrate, the following specific stories will be analyzed: "From the Twenty-eighth Floor" in *With Skies and Wings*; "Danger at High Tide," also in *With Skies and Wings*; and "The Wonderful Washing Machine" and "Mary Ann's Ticket," both in *Around the Corner.*

The story "From the Twenty-eighth Floor" concerns the "adventure" of a girl, Linda, who, while home with a cold, looks out the window and sees a car without a driver but with a baby inside begin to roll down a hill. Her "action" consists of picking up the telephone, calling the police who dispatch a helicopter to pinpoint the location of the car, while squad cars race to stop the car before the baby is harmed. Linda's limited action is offset by the adults who engage in the real adventure. She is directed throughout by adults, and she is never really required to use initiative or bravery. The entire story takes place indoors, a characteristic that is stereotypical of girl action stories.[24]

"Danger at High Tide" contains action which is slightly more adventurous and does take place outdoors. It is interesting to note, however, that the action situation, that of a French girl who becomes stranded by high tide on a small land spit and is rescued by her grandfather and men of the fishing village, is not the heroic situation of most boy action stories. The girl is depicted as foolish and displaying poor judgment. She must be rescued from her predicament. She shows no bravery, no skill, no initiative. This situation stands in clear contrast to boy adventures such as the story, "Mr. Moonlight and Omar," in the same book, where a boy uses imagination and perseverance to alleviate the work burdens of his father. The girl story ends with her feeling cold, tired and frightened. The boy story ends with him being happy, proud and satisfied. Here are excerpts:

Centauree is very sleepy. She feels that everything round her is turning too. Faintly she hears Yan's grandfather saying, "I told you it was not safe."

Selim felt very happy too, for he knew that now his father would never have to work again. He laughed out loud for joy.

"Mary Ann's Ticket" has a female main character who goes to the circus with her father and brother; through scatterbrained inattention, she loses her ticket. A clown finds the ticket sticking to Mary Ann's cotton candy, and a good laugh is had by all. At Mary Ann's expense, of course. This story is insidious on two counts: first, because the girl is the brunt of the humor, a situation echoed in other stories as in life (mother-in-law and female driver jokes); and second, because the foolishness and emotional weakness of the girl are stressed.

Mary Ann turned to her father. "Oh, Father," she said. "What shall I do?" "Stop crying," said Father. "We will help you find your ticket. It must be right here somewhere!"

Now it is true that this situation is a real one. Children do lose tickets and cry and get upset over it. But the catch is that nowhere in the stories do boys make similar mistakes, lose things, become upset or cry. This is negative reinforcement, stressing that somehow girls are silly crybabies who are scatterbrained.

A theme of negative self-image becomes evident as one analyzes these girl action stories. Some element seems to be always present that undercuts the adventure theme. Never is the girl main character unreservedly brave, strong, imaginative, creative or adventurous. She is either frightened, foolish, naughty, scatterbrained or timid. What a gross injustice to characterize young girls in this manner!

The story "The Wonderful Washing Machine" not only echoes these currents, but also contains a characteristic typical of many stories that have girl main characters: the cult of domesticity. Over and over, girl main characters are engaged in domestic activity, play or real, such as cooking, cleaning, serving, etc. "The Wonderful Washing Machine" is the absurd extension of this domesticity. It is a fantasy story about Ann who sits, watching, of course, as the laundry goes round and round. She embarks on a daydream in which a magic washing machine appears which flies in the air while it is washing clothes. Ann flies over the countryside on the machine, landing in yards and helping other children with their laundry. In these readers boys pilot airplanes and girls pilot washing machines!

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This cult of domesticity is more extensively present in the portrayal of adults. Almost without exception, women are shown as mothers engaged in some domestic activity: cooking, cleaning, doing laundry, grocery shopping. Always these activities take place indoors with the exception of marketing. The message here: little girls should and do devote their time and energy to playing house, watching and helping mother perform household chores and generally preparing themselves for their life roles of wife and mother.

Another point to be noted is the importance that clothing has on the definition and activities of the girl characters. The stories never define boy's clothing nor does any boy character's action center around clothing. The readers imply that clothing is a main concern of little girls and no concern of little boys. The action in the story "Betty and Nan" consists of Betty and Nan walking to school together discussing their new dresses. When they arrive and take off their overcoats and leggings they discover their new dresses to be identical. Great amazement and merriment result. A fantasy story contained in *With Skies and Wings* concerns a girl main character who discovers a wonderful magic pencil with which she makes drawings of things that come to life. After discovering the magical qualities of the pencil, Annabel draws a picture of herself in a beautiful party dress. She does not draw herself bicycles, airplanes or toy trains. Her strongest wishes seem to be to look beautiful and have wonderful clothes.

> Then she drew a picture of herself with very thick eyelashes and long hair which came right down below her waist, and a beautiful party dress which was a long, grown-up one with a sash which tied in a bow. When she looked at herself in the glass, she looked so pretty that she was very pleased with herself.

This story stresses the theme that girls are to be defined by their physical appearance and even when very young, their ideal is "feminine beauty." Self-definition and satisfaction are to be derived not from personality, character or deeds done, but from physical attributes and dress.

One final note on character definition by clothing. A striking factor in the illustration of adult female characters is the number of times women appear dressed in aprons. In the pre-primers each adult female main character is shown at least once in an apron. Even in the fantasy stories the female adults are depicted in aprons. This illustration stereotype serves as symbol and image of girl/woman as domestic creature, engaged in serving others.

The elements of sexism characterized by the action, behavior and personalities of the boys and girls in the stories are further developed and reinforced by the portrayal of adult characters in all the categories of the Ginn readers. Definite patterns of adult characterization and behavior established in the pre-primers are expanded and reinforced throughout the series.

The first adults shown in *My Little Red Story Book* are a woman as mother and a man, not as father, but as a filling station attendant. This is the beginning of a recurrent pattern. Adult women are repeatedly and almost exclusively portrayed as mothers, whereas adult men are depicted in a variety of roles and occupations. In the six Ginn readers studied, a total of 46 different stereotypically male occupations are shown, whereas women are shown in only five occupations other than wife and mother. The five occupations were also stereotypically female: store clerk, elementary school teacher, librarian, waitress and cook. Nowhere in the readers was there a woman physician, college professor, factory worker, lawyer or any other of the numerous roles women now fill in their work outside the home. This belies the reality as reflected in the statistics of the Bureau of Labor that 43 per cent of the current work force are women. Moreover, this failure to provide a variety of role models for girls can only serve to discourage them from aspiring to any career other than wife and mother. These readers are telling girls that their choice is limited to one role when they grow up: mother. That their life's fulfillment is to be found in one occupation: mother. And that their sphere of action and influence is limited to one arena: kitchen, house and shopping center.

What a contrast to the 46 different occupations of the adult male portrayed in our sample! Adult males are never depicted primarily as fathers; they are depicted in a range of occupations as diverse as tonga driver, camel driver, gold prospector, astronaut (All in *With Skies and Wings*) and organ grinder (*Around the Corner*), airplane pilot, bus driver, zoo keeper (*On Cherry Street*). The world of the adult male is so much broader, more diverse and more exciting than that of the adult woman that mother in her domesticity does indeed seem a prisoner.

All the above elements discussed join together in the Ginn readers to present a specter of sexism, with all its inherent negativism, limitation and defeatism, so pervasive and strong that it is no wonder that little girls must undergo terrific emotional and intellectual struggles to break away from the patterns imposed on them. For the portrayal of females, young and adult, in the Ginn readers stud
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de Beauvoir:

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and adult, in the Ginn readers studied is nothing more than an illustrated reiteration of society's dictum to its sons and daughters. The prophecy has been eloquently stated by Simone de Beauvoir:

> The young boy, be he ambitious, thoughtless, or timid, looks toward an open future; he will be a seaman or an engineer, he will stay on the farm or go away to the city, he will see the world, he will get rich; he feels free, confronting a future in which the unexpected awaits him. The young girl will be a wife, grandmother; she will keep house just as her mother did, she will give her children the same care she herself received when young—she is twelve years old and already her story is written in the heavens. She will discover it day after day without ever making it.[25]

That many girls do go on to varied careers and creative lives beyond these passive stereotypes is a testament to the strength and will of the female sex in refusing to accept the inferior status which society in general and these readers in particular attempt to enforce.

IV. MACMILLAN AND COMPANY: The Bank Street Reading Series, 1971 editions, by Rita Berndt

The Bank Street Reading Series was written for use in the urban classroom by children of diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds. In an attempt to capture and maintain the interest of city children, its stories depict Black, Spanish American and white characters doing the things that city children do: playing ball in the street, walking to the corner store, riding the bus, going up and down in elevators and solving the little problems that arise every day. In addition to these pictures of life in the city, there are occasional portrayals of fantasy, including the traditional fairytales, and various informational items and word games.

The basic assumption of the Bank Street Series is that children's interest is better maintained, and hence they learn more, when they can relate the characters and events of the readers to their own experiences. Our investigation seeks to determine whether and how well the Bank Street Series meets the needs of the many various kinds of children in the urban school.

The Sample

All the six levels of readers in the series were included. The first pre-primer "In the City" and primer "Around the City" were read in their entirety. Thereafter, ten stories from each were selected by a pre-determined rotation of selection.[26] Altogether, 63 stories were read and evaluated.

Statistical Analysis

Of those 63 stories, 16 are primarily informational and have no "characters," and are not included in the statistical analysis below.

The remaining 47 stories are grouped into three categories: stories about girls or women; stories about boys or men; stories about girls, boys, men and women together. These determinations were based on judgments of which characters are central to the plot of the story. The three categories were further divided according to the race of the central characters: stories about Blacks, stories about whites, stories about people of other races or ethnic groups and stories ab
Although the "Other" classificati
include Spanish American, Asia
Indian characters, of these thr
characters were found in this sam

The breakdown of the stories b
central characters is as follows:[27]

Female Stories

Black
White
Spanish American
Mixed

Male Stories

Black
White
Spanish American
Mixed

Female and Male Stories

Black
White
Spanish American
Mixed

These figures produce the followi

Male stories outnumber female st

Stories with white central charac
Black central characters by 4:1

Stories with white central charac
Spanish American central charac

Stories with white central charac
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Stories with white central charact
Black, Spanish American central
groups combined by 6:5

Expressed as percentages of the t

Stories about females—21%; males
17%

or ethnic groups and stories about racially mixed groups. Although the "Other" classification was initially intended to include Spanish American, Asian American and American Indian characters, of these three only Spanish American characters were found in this sample.

The breakdown of the stories by the sex and race of their central characters is as follows:[27]

Female Stories	10
Black	3
White	4
Spanish American	2
Mixed	1
Male Stories	29
Black	2
White	16
Spanish American	2
Mixed	7
Female and Male Stories	8
Black	1
White	4
Spanish American	0
Mixed	3

These figures produce the following ratios:

Male stories outnumber female stories by almost 3:1

Stories with white central characters outnumber stories with Black central characters by 4:1

Stories with white central characters outnumber stories with Spanish American central characters by 5:1

Stories with white central characters outnumber stories with Black and Spanish American central characters combined by over 2:1

Stories with white central characters outnumber stories about Black, Spanish American central characters and mixed racial groups combined by 6:5

Expressed as percentages of the total number of stories:

Stories about females—21%; males—62%; females and males—17%

Stories about Blacks—13%; whites—51%; Spanish Americans—9%; racially mixed groups—24%

Sex and Race:

Percentage of stories about Black females—6%; Black males—4%; other females—4%; other males—4%; white females—9%; white males—34%

Race

As the statistics clearly show, slightly over half of the stories in the sample concern the exploits of white central characters, while 22 per cent are about characters who are Black or Spanish American. The remaining 24 per cent deal with racially mixed groups. Four of these mixed stories involve one Black and one white; Black and Spanish American outnumber white characters in two stories; and in five stories whites are in the majority.

These figures indicate that, although Bank Street has made progress from the days when readers were *exclusively* concerned with white images, the representation of minorities in no way reflects the racial composition of the school population for which it is intended.

The content of the stories somewhat reinforces this evaluation. On the positive side, the four stories which depict two friends, one Black and one white, portray amicable, equalitarian relationships.[28] On the negative side, neither of the two stories about Black males concerns life in the city. One is a quasi-fantasy about a man whose donkey wants to be treated like a dog—"The Donkey and the Dog." The other is a historical story, set in 1860, of a young boy who goes on a successful whaling expedition—"My First Whale." While children might not readily relate this story to their own experience, it is historically accurate that Blacks did participate in whaling. Thus the story helps correct a common omission of such information.

The two stories about Spanish American males, on the other hand, present boys in an urban situation dealing with problems common to the urban experience. In "Room for a Pet," Pedro wants to have a pet, but is limited in his choice because he lives in an apartment building. He finally gets a goldfish. In the only story in the sample that deals directly with ethnic differences, Carlos saves the day by translating an elderly Spanish-speaking woman's directions to the grocery store operator—"Thank You, Thank You, Carlos." These two stories are similar to the numerous stories in the samp
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to the numerous stories in the sample about the problems white boys face and how they solve them.

It is interesting to note that in this sample the stories about Black and Spanish American females outnumber those about white females. Two stories about Black girls and two stories about Spanish American girls are in an urban setting; the girls are inactive. In the only story in the sample showing a determined, energetic and effective woman, a Black grandmother fights City Hall to have a park garden restored—"Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers." This is a positive story for both Blacks and women. In addition to these, there is one story in the "Female and Male" category about a Black brother and sister—"The Monster." This story presents the girl as gullible; the boy, as devious and persevering.

There was one story in the group that seemed to be set in a "Chinatown" area. It showed two children with Asian features and an Asian man, involved with some white children, trying to stop a run-away dog—"The Running Dog." Although all the children participated about equally in the chase, only the two white children are referred to by name.

Sex of Central Characters

Before beginning a content analysis with regard to sex, it is important to reiterate that the 3:1 boy-girl ratio indicates a strong male bias.

About Boys and Men

Most of the stories are about boys solving a problem, learning something, making a friend or just having a good time. In "Room for a Pet," mentioned above, Pedro is confronted by a problem common to a city child. Yet Pedro's difficulty in finding a suitable pet seems to be caused not so much by the fact that he lives in a small apartment, as by the fact that his mother consistently vetoes his choices. With ingenuity and perseverance, Pedro keeps trying until he solves his problem.

"The Smallest Boy" is also confronted with a problem: he is teased by the bigger boys because he is small. His mother begins to record his height, and over a period of time he learns that he is growing. This knowledge increases his self-esteem to the point that he helps a smaller boy who is now the object of teasing. One can't help wondering what would have happened if the smallest boy had continued to be the smallest. There is not a word of encouragement in this story, or any other, for the short boy who will grow up to be a short man. In our culture,

this presents a real problem.

In "Peaches for the Princess" Arnie, the waiter's helper in a restaurant, is confronted with the problem of finding the biggest, juiciest and most delicious peaches for a visiting princess. After a series of adventures, Arnie succeeds in producing the world's most perfect peaches. The princess in this story is a stereotyped parallel to the princess in "The Fool of the World and the Flying Ship," a recent Caldecott Medal winner.[29] She is a non-person, unnamed and not pictured, worshipped from afar for her beauty and royalty. Other than the princess, no women are mentioned, pictured or alluded to; cooks, waiters, fruit vendors, fruit buyers, truck drivers and hotel personnel, all are male.

Arnie's successful pursuit of the perfect peach is only one of several instances in which a boy's actions and quick thinking save the day. Inept adults (mostly women) abound in "The Pipes Are Leaking," one of the series' most sexist stories. The tone is set early in the story: "'Eddie, come quick, the pipes are leaking,' his mother called." While Eddie tries to find the building superintendent, mom mops up. The apartment fills up with people, none of whom is able to deal with the situation. Unable to find the superintendent, Eddie returns and successfully stops the leak by holding his hands around the pipes, a position he maintains until dad comes home and turns off the main water valve. This story supports the observation made in a recent textbook study that, in readers, masculine resourcefulness, often on the part of a young child, is what it takes to solve problems which are far too much for adult women.[30]

"The Long Wait" is one of the rare instances in which a male character is allowed to show emotion. Peter is waiting at the hospital for news of the progress of his younger brother, whom he has accidentally hit with a baseball bat. When his mother tells him that Jerry will be all right, he lets out the tears that have been welling up. The sex-stereotyped occupations of the hospital personnel in this story are overshadowed by the positive value of a male character who exhibits a natural emotional reaction.

In addition to the "problem" stories, there are several instances in which a boy is shown learning or acquiring a skill. In "Smarty Arty Finds Out" a boy learns lots of things when he visits a farm. A boy learns to read in "Always Arthur." The young boy in "My First Whale" is well on his way to becoming an experienced whaler by the end of the story. Henry in "And He Did!" successfully builds a ca
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He Did!" successfully builds a cart out of an empty box, even though his friends refuse to help him.

Henry's problems with his friends are unusual. Many of the stories in this series about boys are about smooth, male friendship. "Lunch on a Boat" concerns two friends on a class outing. When Roy drops his hot dog over the side of the boat, Max gives him money for another. The stories "1, 2, 3 Go" and "Touch War" involve different kinds of friendly competition between boys. "Pete Makes a Friend," "New Boy in the Class" and "There Was a New Boy" all involve making friends and "fitting in." In the last of these, a rumor is spread around the neighborhood that the new boy isn't friendly. The rumor spreads among no less than seven children—all boys.

Two stories concern the activities of boys in all male groups. In "The Chestnuts," a boys' club is confronted with the problem of raising money for a clubhouse roof. The boys buy some chestnuts, cook them and try to sell them, and in their travels they do not meet up with one woman or girl. Another male group story, "Jerry and the Girls" does not treat women with such benign neglect. Jerry's antipathy toward girls is famous in the neighborhood, and so his friends are surprised to see him one day in the company of four girls. Could it be that adolescence has overcome him? No, he's with them only because they are going to buy ice cream. The implications of this story are that it is acceptable to dislike girls. Girls are being told that male friendship and respect is not theirs by right of common humanity, but is something that may have to be coddled, or in this case, bought.

Two other stories are fantasies. "Jack and the Beanstalk" is the classic fairytale of male resourcefulness and courage. "The Sooner Hound" concerns an adult drifter, Sam the Boomer, and his hound who would sooner run than anything else. Sam arranges a series of races for his dog, who ultimately outruns even the railroad. This is another story in which no females are shown or mentioned.

About Girls and Women

In contrast, most of the stories about girls show them solving no problems, having no adventures, and not interacting with other girls. Another significant difference is that, while 12 of the 29 boy stories contain no female characters only one of the ten girl stories contains no male characters. The clear implication is: men get along quite easily without women, women cannot get along without men.

Of the ten girl stories, five concern urban girls, two concern urban women, one is historical, and two are fairytales. The stories about girls in the city are most illuminating when compared with the boy stories. The camaraderie depicted for male urban life is absent among females. Girls are depicted either alone or in the company of males. This absence of friendship among girls probably reflects the unconscious assumption of writers that females are in competition for the favor of men, and therefore do not develop friendships among themselves.

The second striking fact about the girl stories is that *nothing* interesting or exciting happens. In "The Day It Rained," Carmen stays inside, then pays a brief visit to a friend, goes to the mailbox, does the wash with her mother, visits her grandmother and buys a carton of milk. In "City Houses," Molly and her father watch as the construction workers build houses. In "The New Girl," Rosa meets another girl, a storekeeper, a teacher and some children. The absence of action in this story is very much in contrast to "Pete Makes a Friend," mentioned above, who never stops playing ball even while meeting his new friend, and "There Was a New Boy" whose arrival is active with rumor and intrigue.

In "What Do You Think?" perhaps the epitome of a non-story, an unnamed girl walks around corners and finds her mother coming home from shopping. In the only story of the lot showing girlfriends, "Can Your Brother Talk Yet?" the emphasis, as in the title, is on the baby brother. In this story the girls spend several successive afternoons caring for younger siblings and talking of nothing but the babies.

None of these stories presents a very attractive or accurate picture of the lives of city girls.

In the stories about women, a stereotyped "little old lady" ineptly drops her grocery bag—"One Potato, Two Potatoes." The spilled potatoes are retrieved by a girl, a boy and a man. This ageist, or negative image of an older woman, is somewhat countered by the strong and capable figure of the grandmother in the already mentioned "Mrs. Waters and the Rule Against Flowers." It should be noted that the two stories in the sample about adult women concern women of grandmother-age. There are no stories dealing with young adult or middle-age women.

The three remaining girl stories are set outside the twentieth century American city. In "First Painting," a young girl in Spain explores caves with her fat
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The two fairytales have especially damaging themes. "King of the Cats" is the story of three poverty-stricken girls and their mother who take in a stray cat. Though they are near starvation, they provide the cat with food and warmth. When they reach the point of absolute destitution, the cat makes known to them that he is the "king" of cats and leaves them with a pot of gold. The theme of magic, mysticism or good luck as a solution for poverty is a common one found in children's literature and seems particularly inappropriate for this series. Urban children especially need a more realistic assessment of the causes and reality of poverty and the development of a sense of their own power, with others, to do something about it, rather than awaiting luck or magic.

The other fairytale is that old standard, "The Sleeping Beauty." Here again, the prerequisite of a woman's being highly valued are royalty and beauty: "The princess was beautiful and happy and everyone loved her. She could cook fine food and make fine dresses and she danced lightly." Although cooking ability has been added to the princess' accomplishments (lest anyone fear that her husband has been cheated in his choice of wife), the only quality which the prince seems to consider at all is her beauty. And it is not a beauty born of vivacious personality, or strength of character; it is an absolutely passive beauty, a sleeping beauty. While the princess is the archetypal passive, dependent female, the prince personifies the all-powerful male whose simple actions can overcome even the mystical effects of witchcraft.

About Girls and Boys Together

Of the eight stories about mixed groups of girls and boys, three present the characters in equitable relationships. One shows all the children doing the same things, though there are five boys to two girls in the group. The classification of "The Haunted House" in this section gives the Bank Street Series an unmerited benefit of the doubt. Five boys and one girl (who joins the adventure after it is in progress) explore an old house on a dark and windy night. All the children exhibit fear, and

Spain explores caves with her father and finds some ancient cave paintings. Her discovery receives some degree of publicity, and she becomes relatively famous. This is the only story in which a girl *does* something successful and exciting and thereby merits approval. Unfortunately, its context and subject matter must be remote to the contemporary American child.

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The other fairytale is that old standard, "The Sleeping Beauty." Here again, the prerequisite of a woman's being highly valued are royalty and beauty: "The princess was beautiful and happy and everyone loved her. She could cook fine food and make fine dresses and she danced lightly." Although cooking ability has been added to the princess' accomplishments (lest anyone fear that her husband has been cheated in his choice of wife), the only quality which the prince seems to consider at all is her beauty. And it is not a beauty born of vivacious personality, or strength of character; it is an absolutely passive beauty, a sleeping beauty. While the princess is the archetypal passive, dependent female, the prince personifies the all-powerful male whose simple actions can overcome even the mystical effects of witchcraft.

About Girls and Boys Together

Of the eight stories about mixed groups of girls and boys, three present the characters in equitable relationships. One shows all the children doing the same things, though there are five boys to two girls in the group. The classification of "The Haunted House" in this section gives the Bank Street Series an unmerited benefit of the doubt. Five boys and one girl (who joins the adventure after it is in progress) explore an old house on a dark and windy night. All the children exhibit fear, and

there is no deference to the girl's sex. The girl is the only one who thinks to bring a flashlight. However, the equitable relations between the sexes in this story are overshadowed by the fact that the girl is so outnumbered. It is difficult to imagine a story in which one boy *accompanies* (not leads) five girls on an adventure. When a girl participates in a group of boys, she "makes it"; the reverse, when a boy is in a group of girls, he is considered "sissy."

In "The Monster," a sister-brother story, Bill frightens Sandra out of watching TV monster shows by convincing her that he is really a monster disguised as a human. Bill is ingenious and persevering; Sandra is gullible and easy to frighten. Another sister-brother story casts the female in the position of placing excessive and unreasonable constraints on the freedom and happiness of the male—"Some Mother!" Left in charge of Brother Ben for the day, Helen makes him wash and change his shirt, and will not let him go outside. In addition, she tries to give the cat a bath, and fails miserably. The story supports the notion that women, particularly mothers, enjoy curbing "natural" male love of freedom and fun. These two sister-brother stories are important because they are the only instances in the sample of a female attempting to assert herself against a male. In "The Monster" the girl is overcome by her brother's stronger will and yields completely to his wishes. In "Some Mother!" the strong-willed girl is portrayed as selfish and ridiculous, and she becomes an abject failure when placed in a position of responsibility.

The final story in this girl/boy group eloquently expresses the assumptions about female and male activities and interests which underlie the entire Bank Street Series. Three boys in "The Big Box" enjoy a round of imaginative and adventuresome games. The box becomes a train, an airplane and a boat. Then the boys tire of the game and abandon it. Three girls find the box, and they promptly sit down in it and "play house all day." They are pictured sitting quietly and sipping pretend-tea. Little imagination. No activity. No adventure. And yet they don't get bored, but stay there *all day*.

The message conveyed so clearly in this and the other stories in the sample is that female and male behavior is, and should be, different. Boys like to make things happen, rather than have things happen to them. They would rather do something than watch someone else do it. They are often confronted with problems and generally solve them quite easily. Boys do many things with other people, so they

Girls can be satisfied with much
to watch, and they are happy to
babysitting. They don't play game
are not often confronted with a p
they are lucky to have a male
Running, climbing and ball playin
limits. They are often alone, perha
don't need other people. When girl
are seldom other girls.

Images of Adults: Possibilitie

The image of the child created
forerunner of the image of the adul
in children's books and readers
overwhelming emphasis on the ro
women.[31] In this sample of the Ba
instances in which women were
mother, and there were eight instan
of father. Besides the role of m
sample were depicted as nurse and
variety of occupations: constructio
sel operator, milkman, archeologi
driver, taxi driver, bus driver, subw
doorman, whaler, doctor and railr

The adult role models present
relatively small sample, are nume
models for girls are stereotyped an

NOTE: Added by the Racism & Sexism R
In 1975 Macmillan published *Guidelines*
Racial Images in Educational Materials. T
clearly had some influence in more recent
omissions, stereotypes and distortions have b
comments on the 1975 readers.

things with other people, so they have lots of friends—other boys.

Girls can be satisfied with much less. They are quite content to watch, and they are happy to do simple domestic chores or babysitting. They don't play games or engage in fantasy. They are not often confronted with a problem, but, when one arises they are lucky to have a male around to solve it for them. Running, climbing and ball playing for girls are completely off limits. They are often alone, perhaps because the things girls do don't need other people. When girls are with friends, the friends are seldom other girls.

Images of Adults: Possibilities for the Future

The image of the child created in this series is the logical forerunner of the image of the adult. Studies of sex-stereotyping in children's books and readers have consistently noted the overwhelming emphasis on the role of mother/homemaker for women.[31] In this sample of the Bank Street Series there were 17 instances in which women were described as or pictured as mother, and there were eight instances of men shown in the role of father. Besides the role of mother, adult women in this sample were depicted as nurse and teacher. Men are shown in a variety of occupations: construction worker, storekeeper, carousel operator, milkman, archeologist, policeman, farmer, truck driver, taxi driver, bus driver, subway driver, fruit vendor, cook, doorman, whaler, doctor and railroad engineer.

The adult role models presented for boys, even in this relatively small sample, are numerous and varied. Adult role models for girls are stereotyped and limited.

NOTE: Added by the Racism & Sexism Resource Center for Education
In 1975 Macmillan published *Guidelines for Creating Positive Sexual and Racial Images in Educational Materials.* These thoughtful guidelines have clearly had some influence in more recent Macmillan readers. Many of the omissions, stereotypes and distortions have been eliminated. See page 39 for our comments on the 1975 readers.

V. SCIENCE RESEARCH ASSOCIATES: Comprehensive Basal Reading Series, Volumes G, H, I,J, K, L–1971 editions, by Karen Baker Mitzener

The sample analyzed is as follows:

Volume G - the first ten stories
Volume H - the second ten stories
Volume I - the last ten stories
Volume J - the first ten stories
Volume K - the second ten stories
Volume L - the last ten stories
Total number of stories—60

Main Characters (adults, children and animals)

Main characters include adults, children and animals. There were 93 male compared to 34 female main characters.

Female—34 Male—93
Female: Black—0 White—23 Other—1 Animal—4
Male: Black—4 White—50 Other—5 Animal—13

Approximately 37 per cent of the *main* characters in the sample were female. Underrepresentation of girls and women is only a small part of the picture of the world the readers give to girls. The statistic does not reflect the virtual absence of women from many factual articles which had neither female nor male *main* characters. Nor does it say anything about the limited activities or the negative images of girls and women in the articles or stories.

Articles

Of the 60 selections analyzed, 22 were classified as factual articles. Twelve of these had no main character(s); some were about cryptography, city planning, and clipper ship shanties. Yet even these apparently neutral topics reflected sex bias. The impression a child would form from reading these articles is that there are no women scientists, no women scholars, no women city planners, no women sailors, no women cryptographers and so on. The sexism built into the English language by devices such as the bisexual 'he" for he-and-she is partly

responsible for this impression. I
reading textbooks concludes, "the r
practice (for example) by defining
dig. Archeologists are also women
who dig?"[32] One story, "Living L
distinction between "people" and "r
"*people* have always been *intereste*
now *men* are *taking a new look* at t
men who *study* these things" are n
new looks," men "study." "Peo
children who can be "interested."

In articles in which there are no
mention specific people by name,
number of those people are male.
has a 7:1 ratio of men to wome
mentioned, one is George Eliot. W
student know that *George* Eliot
Evans had to assume a man's n
prejudice has effectively halved th
particular article.)

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medical or work activities.

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the economic mainstay of the fa
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Hera, who wants to punish Echo,
the epithet "a jealous woman." H
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away to the underworld." "In love
for the attitude of someone who is
Demeter, Proserpine's mother, is no
for her wrath when her daughter i
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responsible for this impression. But, as a recent study of reading textbooks concludes, "the readers . . . extend this . . . practice (for example) by defining archeologists as 'men' who dig. Archeologists are also women. Why not, simply, 'people' who dig?"[32] One story, "Living Light," makes a very clear distinction between "people" and "men." The story tells us that "*people* have always been *interested* in lightning bugs . . . but now *men* are *taking a new look* at them." A bit further on, "the *men* who *study* these things" are mentioned again. Men "take new looks," men "study." "People" includes women and children who can be "interested."

In articles in which there are no main characters but which mention specific people by name, a disproportionately large number of those people are male. "Bibliomania," for example, has a 7:1 ratio of men to women, and of the two women mentioned, one is George Eliot. Would an elementary school student know that *George* Eliot was a woman? Mary Ann Evans had to assume a man's name to succeed. (Historical prejudice has effectively halved the number of women in this particular article.)

The very topic selection in the factual articles often excludes women. However, in the sample every single article included a boy, a man, or a male animal. However, there were no articles, exclusively about women on such topics as political, religious, medical or work activities.

In only one of the 22 factual articles, "The Gypsy Life," was there a positive image of women. In Gypsy culture women are "valuable" because through their fortunetelling they are often the economic mainstay of the family. The article says that "fortunetelling is the one Gypsy occupation reserved for women." However, it fails to mention whether any other occupation in the culture is open to women.

In two of the articles women were dealt with in a biased way. In "It's Greek to Me," about the origins of words in myths, no value judgments are made of Zeus' desire to punish a Titan; but Hera, who wants to punish Echo, is condemned outright with the epithet "a jealous woman." Hades was, according to the article, "so much in love with Proserpine that he carried her away to the underworld." "In love" is a grotesque euphemism for the attitude of someone who is guilty of rape and abduction; Demeter, Proserpine's mother, is not shown to have good reason for her wrath when her daughter is abducted. She is described as overly emotional and possessive.

The second article with a decidedly negative image is "Grownup Fairy Tales," which is about opera stage props. The women mentioned in the article are: mermaids (a picture shows them suspended on wires controlled like puppets by men); Elsa, in *Lohengrin*, falsely blamed for killing her brother, and later rescued by a knight; a lovely lady rescued by Siegfried; Salome, "the wicked princess," who cut off the head of John the Baptist. Men mentioned are Ali Baba, hero; Samson, strong man; Hoffman, poet; Siegfried, hero and rescuer; John the Baptist, head; Herod, not described as wicked; Elsa's dead brother; the good knight Lohengrin. The mermaids, Elsa and the lovely lady are all acted upon by men. Salome, and the witch in *Lohengrin*, the two women who are active, are both murderers. An explicit judgment is made of Salome's character in the description of her as "the wicked princess." Perhaps the reason she is judged so strongly (whereas Herod is not) is that she appeals to the king through her sexuality.

Three of the articles allude to witches. "There Ought To Be a Law" mentions laws concerning witches as reflecting the superstitions of their time. The punishments exacted by these laws are not mentioned.[33] In "Grownup Fairy Tales" a witch is mentioned who is a murderer. "Living Light" offers the following about a kind of bioluminescence. "Before people knew what this light was, they were afraid of it. They called the light 'witch fire.'" One associative constellation that these articles might produce around the idea "witches" would include fear and evil. Is it possible to displace such a constellation with an intellectual proscription like, "It's all superstition"? Only anger at historical injustice to women can undo the damage which is being perpetuated in these readers for young people.

Stories

There are eight stories about girls, women or female animals; 26 stories about boys, men or male animals; and four stories about both. Of the stories about females, three include witches among the main characters. Two of these, "The Prince, Two Mice and Some Kitchen Maids" and "Melisande" are parodies and exaggerate stock fairy tale characters and devices. Even these stories work against women. The witch in the first story is in direct competition with the good kitchen maid for the Prince's hand in marriage. The kitchen maid is quite enterprising compared to women in most fairy tales (other than the witches who are, by definition, powerful and enterprising). However, the maid is transfor
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"Melisande" the queens are portra
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The third witch story, "Teeny Ti
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her broom. In this story the whol
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"Uncle Walter's Present" is abou
disruptive that she is sent back t
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the monkey, but the father is a
Mothers often make mistakes, but
this mistake?

Two of the stories featuring gir
girls are the main characters. In "T
Freezer" a little, old magic man is
helping her family financially. L
mothers in the sample for who

However, the maid is transformed into a mouse, a tiny, physically powerless creature, in order to act against the witch, who is in the form of a cat. Direct, aggressive action seems forbidden to women. The destruction of the witch is ultimately brought about by chance. One unexpected plus in the story is the Prince's open expression of grief (he weeps) when his parents die.

In both "The Prince, Two Mice and Some Kitchen Maids" and "Melisande" the queens are portrayed as weak and foolish; the kings, as brave and resourceful.[34] And, of course, a witch, Malevola, curses Melisande with baldness. In the course of the story Melisande undergoes grotesque and frightening physical transformations. Her hair grows so long, so fast, that it becomes her country's major export. Then she grows so large that she can carry her island kingdom in her hand. She is practical and uses her outlandish hair and size to rescue her country from famine and war. However, she weeps in loneliness, an enormous giant, waiting to be restored to normal human dimensions—and marriageability—by her beloved Prince.

The third witch story, "Teeny Tiny Swishy Witch," is about a harmless, domesticated witch, her size reduced to "teeny tiny," who sighs a lot, expressing impotent discontent. She wishes to have a bigger house to haunt. She has to take the raw end of the bargain from a male dog, larger than she, who spitefully hides her broom. In this story the whole world of witches has been reduced to miniature, harmless size, and their impotence is made light of.

"Uncle Walter's Present" is about a female monkey who is so disruptive that she is sent back to the gift-giver, Walter, who reports he has taught her to sweep, cook breakfast, and sew buttons on his shirts. The mother in the story stays home with one son who has a cold, while the father takes the other son out for a walk. This female—indoors—male—outdoors pattern is common in children's books.[35] The mother mistakes the sex of the monkey, but the father is able to identify it correctly. Mothers often make mistakes, but how could any mother make this mistake?

Two of the stories featuring girls are positive only in that girls are the main characters. In "The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer" a little, old magic man is the key to Lizzy Linnehan's helping her family financially. Lizzy's mother—one of two mothers in the sample for whom occupations other than

mother-housewife are mentioned[36]—works in a department store and is both mother and father to eight children. The father has deserted his family to "seek his fortune." He returns with enough money to finance a house and assumes his proper position as head of the household, selling magic-made ice cream. The story deals a flatulent, magic blow to the problems of unemployment and poverty: the American Dream is only realizable for many Americans with fantasy and fairydust.

The second story, "Helga's Good Bad Deed," is about an active, skillful little girl who is half chastised, half rewarded for her deed of rescue.

Two of the eight stories carry positive images of adult women. These women's occupations are stereotyped, however. "A Visit with an Artist" is a good story about a confident, knowledgeable and talented woman artist who teaches collage-making to children. The story makes it clear that the artist, Mrs. Rubin, has a family. It does not make it clear whether she earns money for her art work or for her teaching. Miss Uppabove in "One Last Setting Hen for Miss Uppabove's Class" teaches an interesting class about embryo gestation in chickens. Miss Uppabove is the only non-fantasy central character[37] in the sample who is an unmarried woman. Question: Why was she named Miss Uppabove? The name cannot be demeaning because that would be inconsistent with the general tone of the story. Possible answer: The story's theme is nostalgia for the chick-rearing functions of hens. There are two kinds of hens in the story: setting hens who incubate eggs and laying hens whose setting functions have been taken over by incubators. Miss Uppabove's class acquires a setting hen and clutch of eggs—not the hen's own eggs—for her to sit on. "Happiness" is attributed to the setting hen twice in the story: as she gets just the right number of eggs for her body to cover, and when the chicks—once hatched—go to sleep beneath her. Message: Maternal function brings happiness. The laying hens who are mentioned twice as walking around on farms are not described as "happy." Miss Uppabove's job as teacher of young children takes on greater significance in light of this message of maternal happiness and explains the paradox of the name "Uppabove." The setting hen sits on top of eggs that are not her own. Miss Uppabove is teaching children who are not her own. In a metaphoric sense Miss Uppabove is a setting hen and her name is a reminder of her function.

Stories About Both Females a

Four stories are about both males
Wise Owl" is about a silly, if endea
owl, who is, of course, very wise.
includes one clumsy girl, one e
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It is good on sex, but not race,
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"The Dog that Bit People" is a Ja
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horoscopes and consults a mental h
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Stories About Males

There are 26 stories about males
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each of the following: "Tony's Ad
and "The Hermit of Moonstone
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Adventure" is the worst of the thre
that an unmarried man is deficien
fails to play with him because as a
busy to pay attention."[39] Tony's

Stories About Both Females and Males

Four stories are about both males and females. "Pixie and the Wise Owl" is about a silly, if endearing, female cat and a male owl, who is, of course, very wise. "Tale of a Tumbleweed" includes one clumsy girl, one enterprising girl, and one dexterous boy. "Unwelcome Passenger" is an interesting story. It is good on sex, but not race, roles. The female central character is intelligent and empathetic. She recognizes a male American Indian's personhood (and he, hers) despite her family's prejudice and fear. The Indian, however, has to be *super*human to be accepted as human by the girl's whole family.

"The Dog that Bit People" is a James Thurber story in which the narrator's seemingly harmless mother and her vicious, but beloved, male dog are complementary characters. The dog bites multitudes of people. The mother sends boxes of candy at Christmas to each person bitten by her dog. She believes in horoscopes and consults a mental healer to see if her dog can be cured. She believes her dog is to be pitied because "he isn't well." No positive images for girls here.

Stories About Males

There are 26 stories about males in the sample of 60. These stories are concerned with such themes as rite of passage from boyhood to manhood, hobbies, strength of personal conviction, brotherhood through racial transcendence, mutual love and endurance of team and coach, ingenuity, bravery, endurance, competitiveness, freedom and logical thinking. Most of these stories carry positive male images, although the value of competitiveness in people deserves to be challenged at length, and the possible negative effects of hero image saturation on boys merits discussion.[38] In this section three kinds of images will be examined: (1) negative male images; (2) positive male images; and (3) negative female images. The only negative male images are of unmarried men, one of whom appears in each of the following: "Tony's Adventure," "Dog Bites Boy," and "The Hermit of Moonstone Mountain." The latter two stories have male characters who dislike children. In one of the stories the hermit manages to redeem himself. "Tony's Adventure" is the worst of the three. It makes the implicit point that an unmarried man is deficient. In the story Tony's father fails to play with him because as a hard-working man he is "too busy to pay attention."[39] Tony's uncle, on the other hand,

dislikes work and spends the money he earns in an irresponsible way, from the mother's point of view. He likes to take Tony to the movies and on other outings. He needs, Mother says, "taking care of." Thus, deviation from one's socially prescribed role is an illness, and for a man, reduces him to the status of child. In our culture, domination of a wife and children is an essential character building pursuit. To be master in the house makes for masterful behavior outside of it. Worthwhile questions a teacher might ask if this story is used in the classroom could be: Why is no mention made of the affection Tony's uncle might feel for him? Why can't men be affectionate in children's stories? Do they really have to work so hard that they have no time for human relationships?

The male-oriented stories contain one that has a positive female image. "Rover and the Rogue" is a rite of passage story about two dogs, one young, brave and approaching maturity and the other old, faithful and approaching death. The one woman in the story is intelligent, sensitive and wise in the ways of dogs and men. She has been forced to accommodate to her husband's need to be boss.

> . . . Mary Kelly . . . smiled sweetly and said, "Of course, dear, you do know what's best. If you think that Simon should be shot, you had better go and do it."
>
> So, of course, Simon wasn't shot.

In the story Mary Kelly is at least able to manipulate, if not to confront, her stubborn, unperceptive husband. In addition, a kind of equalization of wife and husband is achieved in the story because no occupation outside the home is mentioned for either the husband or the wife, and the husband is with Mary during the day the story takes place.

Seven of the 26 stories about males conveyed negative images of women. They include an eccentric, silly and unappealing "wise" woman who lives outside society in an eagle's nest—"The Middle Prince of Spotsylvania"; a very beautiful witch whose power is overcome by a man who stabs her in her very beautiful breast—"The Young Fisherman"; the emotional wife of a scientist hero, who has "little patience with pure emotion"—"The Salisbury Clock"; the frivolous and powerless Ariadne and her maidens in "The Careless Astronaut"; and a very nasty sister of the boy hero in "The Magic Typewriter."

Racist and Sexist Stories

The most negative images were
and "Lowdown." In the former,
following telephone conversation

> Ruth . . . you should have seen the
> was green and red and brown and
> color. And it wasn't straight. It was
> We all felt so sorry for her and . . .

And here direct recording of the
story. The expressed sorrow for
seems all the more perfunctory beca
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sample[40] is competitive and petty. S
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story: sexism in the negative imag
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children.

"Lowdown" is a story about a bo
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Joe also feels that he is "kinder tha
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A total of four stories, out of 60, in
of these stories, Black males are the
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because it takes place outside of U.S.
of course, assigned in the culture
"More Important than Gold Medal
place in 1936 about Jesse Owens,
helped by a white German athlete

Racist and Sexist Stories

The most negative images were in "An Understanding Ear" and "Lowdown." In the former, a Black woman has the following telephone conversation with a friend:

> Ruth . . . you should have seen the dress Mary was wearing. It was green and red and brown and orange and some other funny color. And it wasn't straight. It was longer in front than in back. We all felt so sorry for her and . . .

And here direct recording of the conversation ceases in the story. The expressed sorrow for the woman being discussed seems all the more perfunctory because it ends where it does. It is a thin disguise for competitiveness concerning appearance. Thus, the only Black woman who speaks any lines in all of the sample[40] is competitive and petty. She is also less than a perfect mother. Her son, seeking an understanding ear, gets no attention because his mother is involved in frivolous conversation. His father is also too involved to listen, but at least he has an acceptable excuse. He wants to relax and read a newspaper, the story tells us, after a day at work. The child finally tells his troubles to a toad. Sexism and racism clearly intersect in this story: sexism in the negative image of the mother and in the implicit contrast between mothering and working; racism in the stereotype of Black parents not paying attention to their children.

"Lowdown" is a story about a boy named Joe who admires himself, but who is willing to tolerate the company of two servile male friends, one of whom is Black. Mabel, the girl in the story, seeks companionship and admiration from the boys but is cruelly treated by them. According to Joe, "Mabel brags and Mabel is awful. When we can't ditch her, Mabel hangs around us. The rest of us are boys and we do without Mabel." Joe also feels that he is "kinder than the others, but even (he) doesn't see why you should have to be kind to Mabel."[41]

A total of four stories, out of 60, included Black people. In two of these stories, Black males are the central characters. "Toma" is a story of a rite of passage from boyhood to manhood which takes place in Africa—a good story for boys, perhaps good because it takes place outside of U.S. culture. (The sex roles are, of course, assigned in the culture to which Toma belongs.) "More Important than Gold Medals" is a story which takes place in 1936 about Jesse Owens, the Black athlete, who is helped by a white German athlete through a psychological

crisis he experiences as a result of Hitler's racism. Because of this help, Owens is able to succeed at the Olympics! The story implies that the U.S. is a non-racist nation. By comparison, the U.S. may be less racist, but to set up Nazi Germany as a standard so that the U.S. looks good beside it is gross misrepresentation. Another observation may be made about the racism reflected in the stories. Only outside of our culture and in the past are Black people allowed a positive image. In the contemporary family story, "An Understanding Ear," and in the fantasy story "Lowdown" the images are negative, and racism and sexism appear together. And, of course, Black males, and especially Black females, are underrepresented.

There were three stories about races of people other than Blacks or whites. "Good Luck," a story about a Philippine boy, follows the same basic pattern as "Toma," but its sexism is more marked. "Women's work" is clearly distinguished from the work of a boy-about-to-become-a-man. The American Indian in "Unwelcome Passenger" must, like Jesse Owens, be a superstar to prove that people who are different from whites are acceptable. It is interesting that this story, like the Owens story, takes place in the past inferring that better race relations exist today. "Someone to Listen" is a contemporary story about a talented Chicano guitar player and the efforts his two children make to find him a job singing in a cafe. The girl child has the idea of trying job hunting. She doesn't ever explicitly do any of the talking to cafe owners, as does her brother, and the idea is a failure.

VI. SCOTT, FORESMAN AND COMPANY: The Open Highways Series 1965-1968 by Mary Jane Lupton

The evaluation is based on a sample of the Open Highways Series, as follows:

Grade 1, Reader 1, stories 1-10
Grade 2, Reader 1, stories 11-20
Grade 3, Reader 1, stories 21-28
Grade 4, Book 4, stories 1-10
Grade 5, Book 5, stories 11-20
Grade 6, Book 6, stories 21-30

Statistical Data

Female central characters—19.

14 White
1 Black
2 Spanish Americans
2 animal

Male central characters—45.

37 White
4 Black
1 Chinese American
1 Spanish
2 animal

Of the 64 central characters in this sample, 70% are male, 30% female. It would seem that female characters are underrepresented. Fewer than 8% are Black and only *one* is a Black female. Thus, the Open Highways Series does not meet the needs of an urban constituency.

Blacks in the Stories

There is a definite underrepresentation of Blacks, both as central characters and as minor characters or in the illustrations. As stated earlier, the disparity is all the more acute, since the books are intended for urban schools.

In several stories Blacks are ill
they play no part in the plot
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exclusively about male children.

As has already been pointed ou
readable stories in our survey alwa

In several stories Blacks are illustrated or mentioned, but they play no part in the plot development: "On Top of Spaghetti," "Games to Play Outside in the City," "A Game to Play in the City or Anywhere." In "Shoe Shine Boy," the central character is a poor white. Two other boys are pictured shining shoes, one Black, one white. The white boy has a name; the Black child does not. Namelessness of Third World characters is a common racist stereotype.

In several of the stories there are positive images of Blacks. In "Ernestine and Substance X" two girls, one Black and one white, play together. Ernestine is presented as being smarter than her white friend Rosalie. *This is the only story in the sample in which a Black girl is the central character.* Although Ernestine and Rosalie are interested in science—a positive image for female children—the science experiment they undertake is a failure.

In the stories featuring Black male children, the image tends to be more positive. "Pete at the Zoo," a poem by the well-known Black poet Gwendolyn Brooks, shows a Black male thinking about how lonesome the elephant must be. In "Billy's Find," *all* of the characters are Black, this story being the *only* one in the sample which focuses entirely on life in a Black urban community. Billy sells donuts for his mother; he is successful. In "Jimmy's Pocket Aunt" a white child identifies with the Black policeman who befriends him.

The one story involving race relations in the sample is "The Swimming Hole," a story about how white and Black males resolve racial conflict. Steve, a new white (racist) child in the neighborhood, is unable to swim. In anger he ties together the clothes of Larry, the central character of the story, saying that he will not swim with Larry or the other Black boys because of their color. Steve gets a sunburn, at which point the Black and white comrades who swim together reject Steve because of *his* color—red as a lobster. In the end Steve apologizes and Larry offers to teach Steve how to swim. It is unfortunate that the Black child must be so forgiving and that sunburn is confused with skin color. It is also unfortunate that the story is exclusively about male children.

As has already been pointed out, the most interesting and readable stories in our survey always have a central character

who is male. Black girls or women are minimally represented, except in the peripheral role of mother of the main character.

Stories About Other Minority Groups

Of other racial minorities depicted in the series, the most insensitive story is "Wang's Fourth." A number of children, all male, talk about their heritage. The Italians praise Christopher Columbus. A Chinese American boy, Wang, complains that no one from his race has contributed to the growth of America. He is overjoyed at the end of the story when he learns that it was the Chinese who made Fourth of July fireworks possible. There is no mention whatsoever of the Chinese laborers who, under brutal working conditions, made the Transcontinental Railway possible. (Most of our school textbooks present "history" as a parade of important white men.) The story is superficial and insulting, as well as being insensitive to the economic and racial oppression of Chinese Americans.

Another story, "Coats for Katie and Carmen," will be discussed later as an example of the sexual stereotyping of young girls. It does have, as one of the two central characters, a girl who is Spanish American. Generally, however, Blacks and other minorities are absent in the Open Highways stories.

Image of Male Adults in the Stories

The adult males in our survey follow the image already described. They are adventurous, achieving, inventive and successful. In "Stone Soup" a young man tricks a selfish old lady out of her food. In Volume IV, there are a number of sketches about actual famous men: "The Ideal American" tells the story of the Danish immigrant, Jacob Riis, who became the successful journalist and, in Theodore Roosevelt's opinion, an "Ideal American"; Ernest Hamwi, a pastry maker who invented waffled ice cream cones and sold them at the St. Louis Fair in 1904; Larry Bidlake, who describes his adventures while studying water birds in Alaska.

Articles about famous (evil, aggressive) pirates appear in Volume V, among them Lafitte and Blackbeard and the only Black "famous" man, "Garrett Morgan: Man of Ideas," who invented traffic signals and gas masks. It is amusing to note that Morgan is not identified as Black in the text. The illustration shows a white policeman directing traffic and a person wearing a gas mask.

In Open Highways VI, appears
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process of vaccination. "Heroic
describes the achievements of grea
Italian Scipione Borghese, who dr
illustration shows his car being pu
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Images of Male Children

Male children in the sample a
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In Open Highways VI, appears the story of Louis Pasteur, who cured a nine-year-old boy of rabies and discovered the process of vaccination. "Heroic Years of the Automobile" describes the achievements of great drivers, all men. One is the Italian Scipione Borghese, who drove from Paris to China. An illustration shows his car being pulled over a mountain pass by four nameless, unheralded Chinese laborers.

There are exceptions to this rule of males succeeding. The bird specialist of "A True Tale" clumsily falls out of a tree, and his boot is bitten by a bear. Hennessey, the anti-hero of the story by that title, is a bearded hermit and an outsider. However, when he shaves his beard, cuts his hair, and puts on a suit, the children no longer laugh at him. Hennessey conforms and so is on the way to becoming "acceptable."

Some of the adult males in the stories are shown in parental roles. Fathers are generally depicted as working outside the home, often scolding when they come home, sometimes being helpful, but generally being out of their element. The father in "The Seven Little Pifflesniffs" boasts that he can do mother's housework while she does his job of tending store. *He* makes a mess of the housework, but *she* is successful tending store. The story ends with mother staying home and Mr. Pifflesniff going back to *his* place, which is the store.

The male parental role is more humanely and efficiently performed, in fact, by the grandfather figure, who is shown in two of the later stories as being kind, sympathetic to children, and able to function in the home. The grandfather in "The Mad Dog" saves a stray dog from drowning and teaches his grandson to love the animal; the grandfather in "Bluey" teaches two boys how to control a forest fire.

Images of Male Children

Male children in the sample also follow the active male image. In "The First Dishes" the mother cooks while Torad, a young male child, plays with clay. Accidentally, he discovers the process of baking clay. The other members of the "primitive" community come to see Torad's bowls. The final illustration shows Torad teaching the men of the society how to make bowls, while the women, one with a baby in her arms, look on. In "Billy's Find" Billy succeeds in his pursuits—selling

donuts and finding a dog. In "Eating Peanuts with Your Foot" one boy figures out how to eat peanuts with his foot by balancing the peanut on a seesaw. In "I Had a Little Pig" a boy constructs a new tail for a pig with hammer and nails. In "Bluey" two adventurous male children heal a bird and help put out a brush fire. In "The Mad Dog" a boy and his grandfather save a dog from drowning.

The male child in most of the stories has little contact with girls. He relates primarily to boys or men. An exception is "Jimmy's Pocket Aunt," in which Jimmy is a babysitter for his three-year-old aunt. He temporarily loses his Aunt Alice, but a Black policeman comes to his aid. Jimmy gets a positive self-image when he learns that the policeman, like Jimmy, has a young aunt. At the end of the story, Jimmy finds his aunt again. This story, we believe, is a good one because it encourages a nurturant, caring attitude in boys.

One story that depicts the separation of boys and girls and also presents their separate activities in a stereotyped fashion is "Game to Play Outside in the City." The illustrations show a racially and sexually mixed group of children, five girls and seven boys. Although the Black and white children play together, the boys and girls do *not*. The boys' games are active and muscular—skully and boxball. The girls play *living statues!*

Images of Female Adults in the Stories

In contrast to the image presented of the adult male, the adult female image is generally that of a subordinate, nurturant, uninventive *homemaker*. In only one of the stories does a woman work outside the home tending store. In "The Seven Little Pifflesniffs" she gives up this tentative job, and comes back to where she really belongs—in the kitchen.

Of the adult women in the survey, the vast majority are mothers, and are important to the story only in peripheral, non-developing ways. Grandmothers who are depicted do not have the same kind of importance in the stories that grandfathers do. In almost all of the stories the mother is treated in a limited, stereotyped role. She is shown putting away groceries and unable to deal with the situation, as in "Ernestine and Substance X." Often she is shown cooking—"Billy's Find," "Candy for Dinner," "The First Dishes"; giving warnings—"The Swimming Hole"; baking a cake—"The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock."

Of the non-mothers in the selecti
"Billy's Find," whose role is that o
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essay ends with a cartoon. A ma
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Images of Female Children

The girl children depicted are gen
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two girls try to invent a vanishing
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positively. In "Storm" a girl *thinks*
(The poem is similar to "Pete at the
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Sherlock" in which a boy is accuse
car. Twelve-year-old sister, Suzy,
goes to the police, and proves that

Of the non-mothers in the selection, we find Mrs. King from "Billy's Find," whose role is that of consumer: she buys Billy's donuts. In "Stone Soup" we meet a selfish old lady who is outwitted by a clever young man. In "Wang's Fourth" Mrs. Lee takes Wang to see the fireworks because she has no children; in other words, she *wanted* to be a mother but somehow failed. In the song "Oh, Susanna" Susanna is the *object* of a young man's affections. In "The Little Old Woman and How She Kept the Geese Warm" the old woman is so worried about her cold geese that she brings them into her house, and she moves into the barn. Here the old woman is silly, nurturing, self-sacrificing—traditional sexist, ageist stereotypes in our society.

The most blatantly sexist treatment of a woman among the 58 stories surveyed appears in "America's First 'Fill 'Er Up' Stations." A brief history of the emergence of gas stations, the essay ends with a cartoon. A male driving instructor and a woman driver are sitting in a lake. The caption reads: "If I had wanted the car washed, I would have said so."

Images of Female Children

The girl children depicted are generally helpless, unsuccessful and unimaginative. They are also generally shown doing "girls' activities."

In "Jimmy's Pocket Aunt" the little girl gets lost. In "Candy for Dinner," Candy is a token character and is part of the joke of the story. In "The Surprise" Maria, the central character, is supposed to find a present, which she is unable to do without her brothers' help. In the story "Ernestine and Substance X" two girls try to invent a vanishing formula and fail. In "Coats for Katie and Carmen" the girls are shown in a stereotyped activity, going to the store for Carmen's mother. When it starts to rain, the grocer makes them raincoats out of boxes. Katie is another female stereotype, concerned about how she must look to others. But at least she's glad she's not wet.

Only a few stories in the entire sample present girls positively. In "Storm" a girl *thinks* while walking in the rain. (The poem is similar to "Pete at the Zoo," in which a Black boy thinks about an elephant.) In "An Umbrella Joke" a *small* boy asks questions which a *larger* girl answers—a reversal of the usual situation. The best story is "The Adventures of Suzy Sherlock" in which a boy is accused of hitting his neighbor's car. Twelve-year-old sister, Suzy, gathers the taillight glass, goes to the police, and proves that her brother is not guilty.

Although Suzy is the active, clever, problem-solving central character of this story, it is important to point out that her actions are done in order to win her brother's affection. Consequently, this story reinforces the sexist notion that if a woman does anything clever or constructive, she does it for the purpose of pleasing or helping a male. Nor does Suzy have a name of her own, Sherlock being the name of a famous *male* detective.

If this section seems unusually brief, it is because there is so little to say about the female characters of the Open Highways series.

Conclusions

The Sexism in Textbooks Committee of Scott, Foresman published, in pamphlet form, *Guidelines for Improving the Image of Women in Textbooks* (September, 1970). In their opening statement the committee defines textbooks as sexist, "if they omit the actions and achievements of women, if they demean women by using patronizing language, or if they show women only in stereotyped roles with less than the full range of human interests, traits, and capabilities."

Here are a few instances in which Scott, Foresman's Open Highways series violates its own guidelines.

Recommendations for avoiding sexist language

- *Terms and titles which use 'man' to represent humanity have the effect of excluding women from participation in various human activities.*

Comment: The story "Early Men" uses the generic term *men* consistently in a way that excludes the existence of, and contributions of, women.

- *Occupational terms often ignore the existence of women workers. Use terms that reflect the actual composition of the group.*

Comment: In the story "Pirates Take Over Tampa" the term *businessmen* is used in such a way as to ignore the existence of women workers.

- *Males are often chosen to represent "typical" examples, thereby excluding women from the reader's thoughts . . . Examples of sexist language . . . the typical American . . . he; the motorist . . . he.*

Comment: In a vast majority
men are chosen to represen
American" model.

- *Writers should take care tha*
is a bad driver, a shrewish mot
etc. does not present these qua
a group.

Comment: In the essay "Am
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- *Both men and women s*
cleaning, making household re
ing the car and taking care
women should be shown makin
sports; writing poetry; workin
offices; playing musical instru
and law; serving on boards
scientific discoveries.

Comment: In *only one* of the
woman portrayed working outs
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The above excerpts from the *Gui*
valuable insights into the nature o
It is hoped that the Scott, Foresm
lan's 1975 *Guidelines* on racism
distribution both among other pub
who use any basal reader series i

Comment: In a vast majority of the stories in our sample, men are chosen to represent the "typical" or "ideal American" model.

• *Writers should take care that a joke about a woman who is a bad driver, a shrewish mother-in-law, financially inept, etc. does not present these qualities as typical of women as a group.*

Comment: In the essay "America's First 'Fill 'Er Up' Stations" a joke about a women driver presents poor driving as a quality typical of all women.

• *Both men and women should be shown cooking, cleaning, making household repairs, doing laundry, washing the car and taking care of children. Both men and women should be shown making decisions; participating in sports; writing poetry; working in factories, stores and offices; playing musical instruments; practicing medicine and law; serving on boards of directors; and making scientific discoveries.*

Comment: In *only one* of the stories in the survey is a woman portrayed working outside of the home; in the same story we have the *only* instance where a man cooks and cleans—"The Seven Little Pifflesniffs." The implications of the story are that men should do *men's* work (in the store) and women should do women's work (in the house). The Open Highways stories make absolutely *no* effort to show men and women in non-stereotyped work situations.

The above excerpts from the *Guidelines* are only a few of the valuable insights into the nature of sexism in children's books. It is hoped that the Scott, Foresman *Guidelines* and Macmillan's 1975 *Guidelines* on racism and sexism will have wide distribution both among other publishers and among teachers who use any basal reader series in their classrooms.

VII. CONCLUSION: Summary of Findings

Statistical Analysis

The following statistical analysis is based on judgments made of which character or characters in each story are "central." In many instances, there are several characters, often of different sex and race, judged to be central to a story.

TABLE 1. Sex of Central Characters: Raw Figures[42]

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Total
Female	56	27	34	19	136
Male	113	65	93	45	316

TABLE 2. Percentages of Female and Male Central Characters

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Average
Female	33%	29%	27%	30%	30%
Male	67%	71%	73%	70%	70%

TABLE 3. Ratios of Male Central Characters to Female Central Characters

Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Average
2:1	2.3:1	2.7:1	2.4:1	2.3:1

TABLE 4. Race of Central Characers: Raw Figures[42]

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Total
Blacks	7	24	4	5	40
Whites	159	57	73	51	340
Others	3	11	6	5	25

TABLE 5. Percentages of Black, W Characters

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.
Blacks	4%	26%	5%
Whites	94%	62%	88%
Others	2%	12%	7%

TABLE 6. Ratios

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A
Wh./Bl.	23:1	2.4:1	18:1
Wh./Oth.	53:1	5:1	12:1
Wh./Bl. and Oth.	16:1	11:7	7:1

TABLE 7. Sex and Race: Raw Figures a

	Ginn		Macmillan		S.R.A.	
Bl. Fem.	(3)	1.8%	(7)	7.6%	(0)	0
Wh. Fem.	(53)	31.3%	(17)	18.5%	(23)	27.7
Oth. Fem.	(0)	0	(3)	3.3%	(1)	1.2
Bl. Male	(4)	2.4%	(17)	18.5%	(4)	4.8
Wh. Male	(106)	62.7%	(40)	43.4%	(50)	60.3
Oth. Male	(3)	1.8%	(8)	8.7%	(5)	6.0

The most striking fact about the st of central characters for these fo similarity of the figures. In each seri have male central characters, while difficult to postulate some unspo publishing which assumes that abo be male-centered. There is absolute support this obvious bias.

With regard to race of central cha Macmillan has made with its Ba inadequate. The elementary school U.S. cities are over 50% Black. An series out of those included in this central characters in 65% of a s especially significant in as much a written with the urban market upp

TABLE 5. Percentages of Black, White and "Other" Central Characters

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Average
Blacks	4%	26%	5%	8%	10%
Whites	94%	62%	88%	84%	84%
Others	2%	12%	7%	8%	6%

TABLE 6. Ratios

Wh./Bl.	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Average
Wh./Oth.	23:1	2.4:1	18:1	10:1	8.5:1
Wh./Bl. and Oth.	53:1	5:1	12:1	10:1	13.6:1
	16:1	11:7	7:1	5:1	5.2:1

TABLE 7. Sex and Race: Raw Figures and Percentages

	Ginn	Macmillan	S.R.A.	Scott, Foresman	Average
Bl. Fem.	(3) 1.8%	(7) 7.6%	(0) 0	(1) 1.6%	(11) 2.7%
Wh. Fem.	(53) 31.3%	(17) 18.5%	(23) 27.7%	(14) 23.0%	(107) 26.4%
Oth. Fem.	(0) 0	(3) 3.3%	(1) 1.2%	(1) 1.6%	(5) 1.2%
Bl. Male	(4) 2.4%	(17) 18.5%	(4) 4.8%	(4) 6.5%	(29) 7.2%
Wh. Male	(106) 62.7%	(40) 43.4%	(50) 60.3%	(37) 60.6%	(233) 57.5%
Oth. Male	(3) 1.8%	(8) 8.7%	(5) 6.0%	(4) 6.5%	(20) 5.0%

The most striking fact about the statistical breakdown for sex of central characters for these four publishers is the close similarity of the figures. In each series, about 70% of the stories have male central characters, while 30% have female. It is not difficult to postulate some unspoken principle of textbook publishing which assumes that about 70% of the stories should be male-centered. There is absolutely no argument which can support this obvious bias.

With regard to race of central characters, the improvements Macmillan has made with its Bank Street Series remain inadequate. The elementary school population of most large U.S. cities are over 50% Black. And yet the "best" textbook series out of those included in this study still features white central characters in 65% of a sample of stories. This is especially significant in as much as these textbook series are written with the urban market uppermost in mind.

Taking a look at the combined variables of sex and race of central characters (Table 7), the clear and unmistakable bias of our culture is revealed. Of a total of 317 stories in six readers, in every series but one, over 60% of the central characters are *white males*. A relatively small proportion of the urban school population is being handed an enormous piece of the educational pie.

The Damaging Effects of Stereotyping in Textbooks

In the first section of this report we demonstrated that sex-role stereotyping causes considerable psychological and economic damage by:

1. Limiting the role of adult women to the home or to low-paying, low status jobs outside of the home.
2. Ignoring and devaluing the contributions of women to our society.
3. Encouraging girl children towards dependency, passivity and incompetency.
4. Encouraging boy children towards competition, aggressiveness and lack of feeling for others.

We have also demonstrated that racial stereotyping causes psychological and economic damage by:

1. Failing to provide Blacks and other social minorities with positive career and role models.
2. Encouraging the distortion among white youth of the racial diversity of society and their position within a multiracial society.
3. Failing to reflect the particular cultural achievements and cultural differences of Blacks and other minority groups.
4. Fostering the concept of assimilation or "fitting into" the dominant white culture instead of encouraging pride in one's own racial heritage.

General Trends Toward Role Stereotyping in the Series

Although each series subjected to analysis has its own particular patterns of racial or sexual stereotyping, and although some of the textbooks are more blatantly stereotyped than others, we have nevertheless observed the following general trends:

Racial Stereotyping

All of the textbook series under

- Underrepresent Blacks and ot
- Show Blacks participating in rather than either functionir having whites participating group.
- Fail to deal honestly with the Blacks and other minorities.
- Show Blacks and other minori historical or in fantasy setti contemporary settings.
- Show far fewer Black females
- Show minority children havin "accepted."

Sexual Stereotyping—Male

All of the textbook series under

- Focus on the achievements o
- Show males as resourceful, ad uals.
- Present men as models for suc American," and in most fa achievements.
- Show men in positions of po scientists, astronauts, writers rying briefcases.
- Show boys solving proble achieving manhood, excelli conflicts, exhibiting courage
- Show boys relating to other b event: or clubhouses, and activities.

Sexual Stereotyping—Female

All of the textbook series unde

- Show adult women primar indoors.

Racial Stereotyping

All of the textbook series under consideration tend to:

- Underrepresent Blacks and other racial minorities.
- Show Blacks participating in predominantly white groups rather than either functioning in an ethnic setting or having whites participating in a predominantly Black group.
- Fail to deal honestly with the socio-economic oppression of Blacks and other minorities.
- Show Blacks and other minority groups more frequently in historical or in fantasy settings rather than in realistic contemporary settings.
- Show far fewer Black females than Black males.
- Show minority children having to be "super" children to be "accepted."

Sexual Stereotyping—Male

All of the textbook series under consideration tend to:

- Focus on the achievements of white males.
- Show males as resourceful, adventurous, successful individuals.
- Present men as models for such classifications as "the ideal American," and in most factual articles feature male achievements.
- Show men in positions of power or authority, i.e., doctors, scientists, astronauts, writers, breadwinners—usually carrying briefcases.
- Show boys solving problems, acquiring information, achieving manhood, excelling in sports, working out conflicts, exhibiting courage and resourcefulness.
- Show boys relating to other boys in teams, games, athletic events or clubhouses, and excluding girls from their activities.

Sexual Stereotyping—Female

All of the textbook series under consideration tend to:

- Show adult women primarily as mothers, functioning indoors.

- Ignore women as workers outside the home.
- Show women as deriving their sense of worth from being self-sacrificing and family-identified rather than being full individuals in their own right.
- Show adult women in stereotyped roles—mother, witch, little old lady.
- Show women in typical domestic roles—washing dishes, buying groceries, doing the laundry, baking a cake, and usually wearing an apron.
- Show girls in passive or failure situations, generally in indoor settings.
- Show girls as lacking bravery, skill, and initiative.
- Show girls preparing for their future domestic roles—babysitting, shopping for mommy, learning to cook, worrying about clothing.
- Show girls in isolation—alone or with one other girl—rather than in groups.
- Underrepresent girls as central characters.

Positive Self-Image Stories

A few of the stories in each series contain positive images, either for women or for racial minorities, but usually not for both. However, even in the stories which present less negative images of Blacks or women, there still remain subtle elements of stereotyping.

We would hope that educators and parents begin to examine readers with regard to racial and sexual stereotyping, and that they realize that *both* forms of bias must be eliminated if the texts are to serve the needs of the students.

Recommendations

As a result of our analysis of five textbook series used extensively in Baltimore schools, we must conclude that none are free from racial or sexual bias. Further study might perhaps unearth an ideal reader used somewhere in the city school system: this, however, is unlikely. Nor is it likely that Baltimore would have the funds available to purchase this hypothetically non-biased series for the entire school population. It seems, then, that the best use to be made of the available texts is to help each student become aware of the racial and sexual stereotyping present in the stori consciousness can only come abou to the subtle sexist and racist impli of the stories being read in the ele

Teacher awareness of the prob stereotyping could be strengthen means:

1. Reports of studies like this on distributed so that each teache uses readers can study the fin
2. Teachers should be encourage articles listed in the Bibliograp the list are starred (*).
3. Teachers and administrators sure through seeing some of which are available and by following the slide show presen shows are listed under "Relate phy.
4. In-Service Workshops offering ness Training can become a personnel.

We would additionally recomme and other members of the commun study this report. Parents might als ing in community workshops whic racial stereotyping, not only in el but also in television advertisin programs aimed at children, libr media through which society's valu The Racism and Sexism Resource contacted for such training or wo numerous other organizations for t

Finally, we recommend that pu publishers, insisting that school rea be a wider range of choice for minority groups. It would seem t Committee of the Baltimore City S school systems would be in the posi We would hope that this report w information to convince educators t provide positive role models for all

stereotyping present in the stories they are reading. This consciousness can only come about if the teachers are attuned to the subtle sexist and racist implications of the vast majority of the stories being read in the elementary schools.

Teacher awareness of the problems of racial and sexual stereotyping could be strengthened through the following means:

1. Reports of studies like this one should be reproduced and distributed so that each teacher in the school system who uses readers can study the findings.
2. Teachers should be encouraged to read other books and articles listed in the Bibliography; the most crucial items in the list are starred (*).
3. Teachers and administrators should receive further exposure through seeing some of the pertinent slide shows which are available and by having active dialogues following the slide show presentations. Recommended slide shows are listed under "Related Sources" in the Bibliography.
4. In-Service Workshops offering Racism and Sexism Awareness Training can become a requirement for all school personnel.

We would additionally recommend that interested parents and other members of the community have the opportunity to study this report. Parents might also be interested in participating in community workshops which would focus on sexual and racial stereotyping, not only in elementary school textbooks, but also in television advertising, comic books, television programs aimed at children, library books, toys and other media through which society's values are conveyed to children. The Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators can be contacted for such training or workshops or can recommend numerous other organizations for this purpose.

Finally, we recommend that public pressure be applied on publishers, insisting that school readers be revised so that there be a wider range of choice for women, Blacks, and other minority groups. It would seem that the Textbook Selection Committee of the Baltimore City School System and of other school systems would be in the position to apply such pressure. We would hope that this report will provide enough factual information to convince educators that textbooks must begin to provide positive role models for all young students.

VIII. POSTSCRIPT: 1973-74 Scott, Foresman New Open Highways Series by Mary Jane Lupton

Scott, Foresman has updated its *Open Highways* Series, one of the basic changes being additional instructional materials which follow the stories. The four texts in the series reviewed are not numbered according to reading or grade level. Many of the stories are identical to the ones published between 1965 and 1968. There are, however, some significant changes in connection with sex and race.

Looking at the four following books from the Series—*More Power, Seeking Adventure, Exploring Afar* and *Discovering Treasure*—one is immediately struck by the titles, which evoke the traditional "Boy's World." So too, the covers seem designed visually for boys more than girls. *Exploring Afar* shows an airplane on the cover (although the inside first picture shows a female child looking passively at a plane). The cover of *Seeking Adventure* has a black jeep tire against a red background, while the cover of *More Power* shows a fragment of a bicycle, a girl's bike at that.

For the purpose of making some comparisons between the new series and the old, I have looked at ten stories from each of the above four readers, following the method for random sampling used in the *1973 Report*. I have eliminated from the count those stories with no narrative content, for example "Using a Card Catalog" or "Making a Bottle Barometer." The stories are as follows:

More Power

"Michael's Real Live Animals"
"How to Care for a Goldfish"
"Pogo Leaves the Circus"
"Holding Hands"
"Laugh Time"
"Pennies for Ziggie"
"The Giant's Hiccups"
"Junk Day on Juniper Street"
"Someday, Sara"
"Hard-Hat Jobs"

Discovering Treasure

"Ernestine and Substance X"
"Garret' Morgan, Man of Ideas'
"Ookie the Walrus"
"A Few Words on a Large Subject"
"Stocking a Game Farm or a Zoo"

Exploring Afar

"Louis Pasteur" and "Joseph Meister Grows Up"
"Cars of Yesterday"
"An Unusual Hobby"
"Heroic Years of the Automobile"
"America's First 'Fill 'Er Up!' Stations"

Seeking Adventure

"Newsboy Makes the News"
"Games to Play Together" and "Games to Play Alone"
"Make Room for Me"
"Lyle"

More Power

Of the central characters in the s
five are white males, one is a whit
male. The story centering on the
Sara," presents a particularly stron
high aspirations. She wants to fly
in a rocket, build a house. In these
by her mother, who teaches Sara to
the end of the story Sara successf

In "Someday, Sara" the mother
tive. So too, in the story "Micha
woman is shown in a position of a
an and teaches Michael about a
heart beat. In the same story, how
from whom Michael learns are men
attendants.

Discovering Treasure

"Ernestine and Substance X"
"Garrett Morgan, Man of Ideas"
"Ookie the Walrus"
"A Few Words on a Large Subject"
"Stocking a Game Farm or a Zoo"
"Al Oeming, the Daring Dreamer"
"Al Oeming and the Swan Hills Grizzlies"
"Always Something!"
"Walk Like a Pioneer"
"The Gulls"

Exploring Afar

"Louis Pasteur" and "Joseph Meister Grows Up"
"Cars of Yesterday"
"An Unusual Hobby"
"Heroic Years of the Automobile"
"America's First 'Fill 'Er Up!' Stations"
"Black Heritage Mini-Motor Tour"
"Bluey"
"Animals of Australia"
"Fair Today, Followed by Tomorrow"
"An Adventure with the Gods"

Seeking Adventure

"Newsboy Makes the News"
"Games to Play Together" and "Games to Play Alone"
"Make Room for Me"
"Lyle"
"The Story of Mulberry Road"
"Ideal American"
"Wang's Fourth"
"Really?"
"A Dish You Can Eat"
"Billy to the Rescue"

More Power

Of the central characters in the selections from *More Power*, five are white males, one is a white female, and one is a Black male. The story centering on the white female, "Someday, Sara," presents a particularly strong image of a girl. Sara has high aspirations. She wants to fly an airplane, go to the moon in a rocket, build a house. In these endeavors she is encouraged by her mother, who teaches Sara to use a hammer and nails. At the end of the story Sara successfully constructs a birdhouse.

In "Someday, Sara" the mother is intelligent and informative. So too, in the story "Michael's Real Live Animals" a woman is shown in a position of authority. She is a veterinarian and teaches Michael about a duck's feathers and a dog's heart beat. In the same story, however, the majority of people from whom Michael learns are men—his father, a diver, two zoo attendants.

The most forcefully portrayed adult female in *More Power* appears in "Hard-Hat Jobs." Here a woman is shown, among men, in a non-traditional occupation. The woman, an architect, wears a hard hat, a suede jacket and leather gloves, an outfit identical to the one worn by the Black male she is working with. Although a Black male is pictured in "Hard-Hat Jobs" and in "Someday, Sara" and appears as the central figure in "How to Care for a Goldfish," there are no Black females in the ten stories in this sample. There is, nonetheless, a Black female pictured in the photograph that introduces the first section of *More Power*. She is on a bicycle, and she is accompanied by one Black male and two white children whose sexual identities are not very clear.

Discovering Treasure

Of the non-whites in the random sampling from this volume, one is either Black or Spanish American ("Ernestine and Substance X"); one is the inventor Garrett Morgan, whose race (Black) is nowhere alluded to (see page 30); the third is a Black male teenager who is gratuitously pictured next to a four-line poem about elephants.

The bulk of the stories from 11 through 20 in *Discovering Treasure* is about white boys and men. These males tame lions and tag grizzlies; they rescue children during a rain storm on the frontier; they dig ditches and do strenuous farming. The only story about females, "Ernestine and Substance X," is a repeat from the earlier *Open Highways*, Book V (1966). The story is about two girls, one white and one of unascertainable racial identity, who become involved in a scientific experiment to invent an invisibility-causing substance. The liquid destroys the finish when they paint it on a chair. The father scolds. The girls are failures.

Exploring Afar

Of the ten selections in this volume, not one involves a female central character. Women are seen in peripheral roles in two of the stories: there is a reference to Black sculptor Elizabeth Catlett in "Black Heritage Mini-Motor Tour"; there is a woman assistant in the play "Fair Today, Followed by Tomorrow." As in the previous edition of *Open Highways*, there is included an offensive cartoon, in the story "America's First 'Fill 'Er Up' Stations," which shows a woman driver and a male instructor. They are sitting in a pond with the woman at the wheel. The caption reads: "If I had wanted the car washed, I would have said so." It is an inexcusable joke at the expense of the female

sex, and, what is more, it has ab
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As in *Discovering Treasure*, so t
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Paul Laurence Dunbar's house, of th
in the Western Reserve Historical
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cans to our national history.

Seeking Adventure

In these ten selections from *See*
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Black male children, one on a
Fernando, and one on a Chinese Am
three stories about Black males, two
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the News" saves an old woman's lif
Billy of "Billy to the Rescue" save
blows his trumpet to warn of risi
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The story about Wang also c
achievement. Wang is proud that th
invent fireworks ("Wang's Fourth"
hand, is somewha of a failure. Bo
amuse himself by watching the bu
site. He is chased away several tim
the guard drills a hole in the fenc
friend, a white male.

White males in other stories inclu
reporter and "ideal American,"
concocted the first ice-cream cone.

sex, and, what is more, it has absolutely no bearing on the story.

As in *Discovering Treasure*, so too in *Exploring Afar*, white males dominate the selections. Many of the stories in this sampling have to do with the automobile, a machine that has come to symbolize masculine achievement. In one of the stories we are told about such heroes as Scipione Borghese, who drove from Paris to Peking in 1907, and Emile Levassor, who won the first auto race in 1895. Other stories feature the French scientist Louis Pasteur, the Roman hero Mercury, and the boy Bluey, an Australian child who helps put out a brush fire.

Almost all of these stories are in the previous edition of *Open Highways*. There is a commendable addition to the *New Open Highways* volume, however. This is the informative essay called "Black Heritage Mini-Motor Tour." There are pictures of Paul Laurence Dunbar's house, of the exhibits honoring Blacks in the Western Reserve Historical Society, of Horace Pippin's painting "Christmas Morning." This story will help give Black children a sense of pride as well as inform both white and Black children of the underpublicized contributions of Black Americans to our national history.

Seeking Adventure

In these ten selections from *Seeking Adventure*, the white male is—for once—outnumbered. Three of the stories focus on Black male children, one on a Spanish American named Fernando, and one on a Chinese American called Wang. Of the three stories about Black males, two show the child achieving a goal or successfully performing a deed. Tim of "Newsboy Makes the News" saves an old woman's life by calling an ambulance; Billy of "Billy to the Rescue" saves some campers when he blows his trumpet to warn of rising waters during a flood situation.

The story about Wang also communicates a sense of achievement. Wang is proud that the Chinese were the first to invent fireworks ("Wang's Fourth"). Fernando, on the other hand, is somewhat of a failure. Bored and lonely, he tries to amuse himself by watching the bulldozers at a construction site. He is chased away several times by a guard until finally the guard drills a hole in the fence for Fernando and a new friend, a white male.

White males in other stories include Jacob Riis, a newspaper reporter and "ideal American," and Ernest Hamwi, who concocted the first ice-cream cone.

Completely missing from the ten stories is any treatment of a female in a central role. There are no girls whatsoever in the story "Newsboy Makes the News," although it is a social reality that girls deliver papers. Girls appear on the sidelines in "The Story of Mulberry Road" and "Wang's Fourth." Black and white females are portrayed in "Games to Play Together" and in "Really?" But there are no females in key positions in any one of these ten stories.

An Overview

Of the 40 stories reviewed in this survey, not all have clearly defined central characters, whereas some have several. The breakdown of identifiable *central characters* according to race and to sex is as follows:

Total Number of Female Central Characters - 3
1 Black
2 White
0 Other

Total Number of Male Central Characters - 29
21 White
6 Black
2 Other

On the basis of these figures, we must conclude that female characters are sadly underrepresented. Of the 32 central characters in this particular sampling, only 3 (9%) are women, while in our 1973 analysis of the Scott, Foresman readers, 30% of the central characters were women. This difference suggests a marked decline in the depiction of central characters who are female.

Black characters, on the other hand, seem to be better represented in the *New Open Highways* Series than in the old. Of the 32 central characters in our survey, 7 (22%) are Blacks, as opposed to fewer than 8% in the earlier study. We find once again, however, that Black female characters are more underrepresented than Black males.

The men in these stories are generally adventurous, bold and inventive. They race fast cars, rescue people from floods, put out brush fires. Of the three women characters, two are failures. ("Ernestine and Substance X")

Because this is a random sampling, following the methods established in the 1973 *Baltimore Feminist Report on Sexism and Racism in Popular Basal* readers, this survey may not suf the changes between the two editi the two major differences betwee texts published from 1965 to 196 Black males and a far lesser po white, than in the earlier reader only one non-white female is in a it is not even clear that she is Bl single dark female central charact *Open Highways* series.

There are two stories from the into the random sampling, but Scott, Foresman must include in fa itself of sexist bias.

One is entitled the "Story *Adventure*). The young Annie tea and shoot squirrels. She becomes is depicted as being clever, resourc a positive role model for girls, volumes.

Mention must be made of t Wisconsin Truck Driver," in *Explo* is photographed sitting in a truck checking an order form. This str makes her living driving a truck cartoon in the same volume abou car into a pond. One must seri editorial inconsistency is present staff which would allow for two the same highway. Clearly, mor necessary before Scott, Foresma edition of *Open Highways*.

and Racism in Popular Basal Readers but using different readers, this survey may not sufficiently reflect the nature of the changes between the two editions. What does stand out are the two major differences between the 1973 edition and those texts published from 1965 to 1968: a far greater portrayal of Black males and a far lesser portrayal of females, Black or white, than in the earlier readers. In the entire four volumes, only one non-white female is in a key role—Ernestine—and here it is not even clear that she is Black. Ernestine is also the one single dark female central character in our survey of the earlier *Open Highways* series.

There are two stories from the new edition that did not fall into the random sampling, but they show the kind of story Scott, Foresman must include in far greater number if it is to rid itself of sexist bias.

One is entitled the "Story of Annie Oakley" (*Seeking Adventure*). The young Annie teaches herself how to trap quail and shoot squirrels. She becomes "the family huntress." Annie is depicted as being clever, resourceful, and independent. She is a positive role model for girls, one of the few in the four volumes.

Mention must be made of the biographical sketch, "A Wisconsin Truck Driver," in *Exploring Afar*. Bernice McDonald is photographed sitting in a truck, wearing a heavy jacket and checking an order form. This strong image of a woman who makes her living driving a truck is an antidote to the insulting cartoon in the same volume about the woman who drives the car into a pond. One must seriously question what sort of editorial inconsistency is present among the Scott, Foresman staff which would allow for two such diverse women to travel the same highway. Clearly, more thinking and analysis are necessary before Scott, Foresman comes out with its next edition of *Open Highways*.

IX. AFTERWORD–1975-1976:

by the Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators

The Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators has examined the 1975 Macmillan *Series R Reading Program* and the 1976 Scott, Foresman *Reading Unlimited Reading Series.* If these two series were to be subjected to the counting-of-central-characters-in-the-stories tests applied to earlier readers reviewed in the Baltimore Report, it would appear that there has indeed been improvement.

Females are more numerous than in previous readers. Many females are active, resourceful and brave. Some work outside the home and few wear aprons. Yet these improvements are spotty and much sexism remains.

Minorities, especially Afro Americans and Native Americans, appear on many pages. There are more Asian Americans and Hispanic Americans than in earlier readers. Stereotypes still crop up, but the more blatant examples are few and far between. Glaring omissions of Third World people and white women have been rectified.

The publishers and editors have tried; pressure from Third World people, feminists, and concerned people of all colors and both sexes has had some effect, and the changes are encouraging. However. . .

We found that while some of the *most overt* racism and sexism is gone, *more subtle*, covert forms remain—and these are dangerous *because* they are subtle. They appear in the following ways:

1. Contemporary diversity in cultures and values are not made apparent. There are innumerable stories where the illustrations show the reader that the story concerns Third World persons, but the text, without the pictures, could be about middle-class white persons.

2. Institutional sex and race oppression is not portrayed. The stories seem to place all problems and their solution onto individuals.

3. Because of this, white ethnoce
bility for present day and historical
This sugar coating of the harsher
not provide minority *or* majority yo
insights to strive for social change

4. Flowing from numbers 2 and
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Current controversies are glossed
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To prepare an in-depth, detailed
basal readers and social studies tex
Resource Center for Educators i
numerous Third World and Femini
develop new criteria applicable to
such objective criteria have been re
commence. The target date for publ
fall of 1976.

We welcome the participation of
our goals.

3. Because of this, white ethnocentrism and white responsibility for present day and historical injustice are not confronted. This sugar coating of the harsher realities of our society does not provide minority *or* majority youngsters with the necessary insights to strive for social change.

4. Flowing from numbers 2 and 3, options for restructuring our society to free it from economic and psychological oppression caused by sexism and racism are not explored. Current controversies are glossed over or unmentioned. The stories carry an assumption of white good-will and of steady improvement of society which distort reality.

To prepare an in-depth, detailed analysis of all major new basal readers and social studies texts, the Racism and Sexism Resource Center for Educators is presently meeting with numerous Third World and Feminist scholars and students to develop new criteria applicable to our present concerns. When such objective criteria have been refined, our formal study will commence. The target date for publication of this new study is fall of 1976.

We welcome the participation of all persons sympathetic to our goals.

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9. Charles Silberman, *Crisis in Black and White*, (N.Y.: Vintage, 1964)

10. Banks, *op. cit.*

11. It is a basic assumption throughout this study that sex roles and temperamental attitudes are not innate, but are the products of conditioning. Margaret Mead's cross-cultural study, *Male and Female*, provides evidence that traditionally defined "masculine" and "feminine" traits are conditioned. In one of the groups she studied, both males and females were gentle and nurturant; in another, the women are as aggressive as the men, and neither sex is psychologically nurturant and supportive
women work at fishing, marketing and mar
day but carve, paint and learn dance
temperamental attitudes which we have t
such as passivity, responsiveness and a wi
easily be set up as the masculine pattern
outlawed for the majority of men, we no
such aspects of culture as sex linked." (Th
condensed version of Dee Ann Pappas'
Women: A Journal of Liberation, 1 1969.)

12. Jerome Kagan, "The Acquisition a
Review of Child Development Research,
Sage Foundation, 1964)

13. Goldberg and Lewis, *Child Develop*

14. John Money, "Psychosexual Diffe
Developments (New York: Holt, 1965)

15. Ruth Hartley, "Children's Concepts
Palmer Quarterly (1960)

16. Daniel G. Brown, "Sex Role Preferenc
Monographs, (1956)

17. As quoted in David C. McClelland's
1961)

18. As quoted by Birgitta Linner in "Wh
Imply?", *American Journal of Orthopsych*

19. See Vivian G rnick's article, "Why W
Issue (1972)

20. Lenore Weitzman, "Sex-Role Socializ
Children," *American Journal of Sociology*

21. Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madne*

22. Weitzman, *op. cit.*

23. Women on Words and Images, *Dick*
1971)

psychologically nurturant and supportive of their children; in yet another, the women work at fishing, marketing and managing daily life; the men do little all day but carve, paint and learn dance steps. Mead concludes: "If these temperamental attitudes which we have traditionally regarded as feminine—such as passivity, responsiveness and a willingness to cherish children—can so easily be set up as the masculine pattern in one tribe, and in another to be outlawed for the majority of men, we no longer have any basis for regarding such aspects of culture as sex linked." (This discussion of Mead's findings is a condensed version of Dee Ann Pappas' discussion in "On Being Natural," *Women: A Journal of Liberation*, 1 1969.)

12. Jerome Kagan, "The Acquisition and Significance of Sex-Typing," in *Review of Child Development Research*, ed. M. Hoffman (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1964)

13. Goldberg and Lewis, *Child Development* (1969)

14. John Money, "Psychosexual Differentiation," in *Sex Research, New Developments* (New York: Holt, 1965)

15. Ruth Hartley, "Children's Concepts of Male and Female Roles," *Merrill-Palmer Quarterly* (1960)

16. Daniel G. Brown, "Sex Role Preference in Young Children," *Psychological Monographs*, (1956)

17. As quoted in David C. McClelland's *The Achieving Society* (New York: 1961)

18. As quoted by Birgitta Linner in "What Does Equality Between the Sexes Imply?", *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, 41:5 (1971)

19. See Vivian G rnick's article, "Why Women Fear Success," *Ms.*, Preview Issue (1972)

20. Lenore Weitzman, "Sex-Role Socialization in Picture Books for Pre-school Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 77 (1972)

21. Phyllis Chesler, *Women and Madness*, (New York: 1972)

22. Weitzman, *op. cit.*

23. Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane as Victims*, (New Jersey, 1971)

24. See Women on Words and Images, *op. cit.*

25. Simone deBeauvoir, *The Second Sex*, (New York, 1952)

26. See Methodology, p.

27. See the Conclusion—Summary of Findings for a statistical analysis based on sex and race of all central characters in the series.

28. See Methodology for a list of stories analyzed.

29. Lenore J. Weitzman, et.al., "Sex Role Socialization in Picture Books for Preschool Children," *American Journal of Sociology*, 77:6

30. Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane as Victims* (N.J.: 1972)

31. See Women on Words and Images, *op. cit.*; Weitzman, *op. cit.*; and Marjorie U'Ren, "Image of Women in Textbooks," *Women in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness*, eds. Vivian Gornick and Barbara K. Moran, (Basic Books, 1971).

32. Women on Words and Images, *Dick and Jane As Victims*, (N.J.: 1972)

33. Sister Albertus Magnus McGrath in *What a Modern Catholic Believes about Women* (Chicago: 1972) observes that "On the basis of . . . sick and primitive fear of the female, women were viciously abused for more than three centuries. Torture was regularly invoked in continental Europe, and the rack was employed in England. Condemned witches were strangled, beheaded, and their bodies cast into the fire; often they were burned alive. How many innocent women suffered and died it is impossible to say."

34. The only right thing the Queen in "Melisande" does—projecting the outcome of the King's plan not to invite any fairies—is not mentioned in the teachers' guide. However, the mistakes she makes are. The King's mistake is not mentioned in the guide but his good actions are. (Teaching Guide, Level L.)

35. See Weitzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1132 and 1

36. See "A Visit with an Artist" for the ot
which takes place 100 years ago and "Goo
"primitive" agricultural community for surpr
situation, in the latter, the stage of economi
consonant with a wider range of roles and
But the stereotypes prevail.

37. Only two other unmarried women, both el
not fantasy characters, are mentioned in the

38. See Ruth E. Hartley, "Sex-Role Pressu
Male Child", *Psychological Reports*, 5, (1969)

39. In the "Careless Astronaut" the theme
male parenting also finds expression. Daedal
that he has been "too busy to train (Icarus) p
Yet the blame for the boy's death is laid at
father escapes with impunity. In "The Old-Fa
Linnehan's mother handles both work and p
acclaim.

40. One other Black woman was briefly
mother, who cooked the ostrich eggs her son

41. The Teaching Guide to Volume I also
behavior is more reprehensible, is not criticiz

42. The discrepancy which appears between
in the race category and the number in the s
we could not always determine the race of th
many of the stories have animals as centr
determined, but they cannot, of course, be cl

35. See Weitzman, *op. cit.*, pp. 1132 and 1144.

36. See "A Visit with an Artist" for the other. See "Unwelcome Passenger" which takes place 100 years ago and "Good Luck" which takes place in a "primitive" agricultural community for surprises. In the former the historical situation, in the latter, the stage of economic development, would have been consonant with a wider range of roles and activities than mother-housewife. But the stereotypes prevail.

37. Only two other unmarried women, both elementary school teachers, who are not fantasy characters, are mentioned in the stories.

38. See Ruth E. Hartley, "Sex-Role Pressures and the Socialization of the Male Child", *Psychological Reports*, 5, (1969)

39. In the "Careless Astronaut" the theme of a conflict between work and male parenting also finds expression. Daedalus, an obsessive inventor, laments that he has been "too busy to train (Icarus) properly"; hence Icarus is careless. Yet the blame for the boy's death is laid at the door of *his disobedience*. The father escapes with impunity. In "The Old-Fashioned Ice-Cream Freezer" Lizzy Linnehan's mother handles both work and parenting and receives no special acclaim.

40. One other Black woman was briefly mentioned in "Toma," Toma's mother, who cooked the ostrich eggs her son found.

41. The Teaching Guide to Volume I also criticizes Mabel while Joe, whose behavior is more reprehensible, is not criticized.

42. The discrepancy which appears between the number of central characters in the race category and the number in the sex category is due to the fact that we could not always determine the race of the central characters. In addition, many of the stories have animals as central characters; their sex can be determined, but they cannot, of course, be classified by race.